THE NEW WORLD LIBERATION FRONT:
A DESCRIPTION OF A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

Baron Lee Buck
B.S. University of Nebraska, Omaha, 1971

THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

AT

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SACRAMENTO

THE NEW WORLD LIBERATION FRONT: A DESCRIPTION OF A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

A Thesis

by

Baron Lee Buck

Approved by:

Thomas R Phelps, Chair
Dr. Thomas R. Phelps

James M Poland, Second Reader
Dr. James M. Poland

Date: 21 August 1978

Copyright 1978 Baron Lee Buck

Abstract

of

THE NEW WORLD LIBERATION FRONT:
A DESCRIPTION OF A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

by

Baron Lee Buck

Statement of Problem

The New World Liberation Front is an underground revolutionary terrorist organization based in the San Francisco Bay Area. Although the New Liberation has been active since the summer of 1974 and has claimed over one hundred bombings and other terrorist acts law enforcement admits they know very little about the organization. The purpose of this thesis is to analysis the origin, organizational sturcture, membership or size and affiliation with other revolutionary terrorist groups.

Sources of Data

An extensive review of the literature was conducted in four broad categories: Political violence, international and transnational terrorism, the American left and the radical press. Interviews were conducted with specialists on the subject of terrorism in California. An interview was also conducted with the leader of the New World Liberation Front's aboveground unit in San Francisco.

Conclusions Reached

The New World Liberation is both an active and secure organization. It appears from this study that the organization is a part of the New Left movement that began in the early 1960's with the students for a Democratic Society and has continued through a succession of revolutionary terrorist groups up through the present time. Evidence exists that the New World Liberation Front is in contact with and has been influenced by both other American and foreign terrorist groups; these contacts can be expected to continue. Further, the New World Liberation Front's low level tactics aimed at structures rather than people can be expected to continue because of numerous successes.

Dr. Thomas R. Phelps Thomas R. Phelps

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Lois and my daughters Ellen, Linda, Kathy and Karen, who shared the burden of this project and without whose understanding and encouragement, completion would have been impossible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Thomas R. Phelps and Dr. James M. Poland for their invaluable assistance in the completion of this project. I also wish to acknowledge Mr. James L. Stinson without whose research assistance and encouragement this project would never have been completed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I INTRODUCTION 1

Statement of Problem
Purpose of Study
Scope and Limitations of Study
Procedure and Methodology Used in Study
Definitions of Terms
Organization of Remainder of Study
FOOTNOTES 11

II LITERATURE REVIEW 12

Introduction
Students For A Democratic Society
Weather Underground Organization
Venceremos Organization
Symbionese Liberation Army
New World Liberation Front
Summary
Illustration
Link Analysis Chart of Major American Revolutionary Groups 60
FOOTNOTES 61

III ANALYSIS OF FIELD SURVEY 67

Introduction
Formation
Membership
Organization
Goals and Tactics
Prognosis
Summary
Illustration
Medigovich, Stinson, Rogier 88
FOOTNOTES 89

IV SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS . . 90

Summary
Conclusions
Recommendations
Need for Further Study
FOOTNOTES 104

APPENDIX A 105

APPENDIX B 107

APPENDIX C 113

APPENDIX D 119

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 143

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Today, it is a rare occurrence to read a newspaper, listen to a radio news broadcast or watch the evening news on television without being confronted with the fact that an act of terrorism has occurred somewhere in the world during the past week. The majority of this media news coverage is devoted to acts of international or transnational terrorists. The question is often asked why? Can it be true that the United States is not plagued with the terrorist problem as are European and Latin American countries? Hardly, rather it is because the American brand of terrorist activity, excepting that of the FALN, is relatively unspectacular by comparison. International terrorist tactics of political kidnappings, murders and bombings which cause loss of life are obviously more spectacular than the bombing of vacant buildings. It is this difference in tactics which has caused many obserers to regard American terrorists as amateurish by comparison and therefore less of a threat to national security.

Although it may not appear evident to the casual observer there has been an active revolutionary movement in the United States which has spanned the past two decades. A national survey completed in October 1975 by the New York Herald Tribune concluded "that the aim of the United States

radical movement today is revolution. It's goal is to overthrow the American capitalist system by any means." The survey further states that the movement is built around the thousands of leftists who participated in the demonstrations and violence of the sixties. These radicals are now scattered throughout the country at all levels of American society, constituting what might be termed an ideological underground. The report concludes that several hundred of these radicals have received training in assassination, kidnapping and the handling of explosives.[1]

Kirkpatrick Sale, the New Left historian, believes that the sympathizers for the radical movement in this country number more than 2.5 million. Although they are made up of a mixture of socialists, communists, anarchists and leftists of all kinds they nearly all agree that to achieve social change in America the government of the United States must be completely destroyed.[2]

The New World Liberation Front is one such leftist organization that has been described by the 1976 National Advisory Committee Report on Disorders and Terrorism as the most active revolutionary group in the United States.[3] Yet after four years of continuous activity and over 90 claimed bombings to its credit the organization remains a mystery to the forces of justice.

Based in the San Francisco Bay area the New World Liberation Front is a split level umbrella organization made up of a number of small autonomous units and affiliated

revolutionary terrorist groups who are dedicated to the violent overthrow of the government of the United States. How serious a threat they pose to the integrity of the United States is difficult to determine when law enforcement admits that they know very little about the organization and its members. This thesis is an attempt to produce a pictorial description of the New World Liberation Front to fill that gap in the existing literature.

Statement of Problem

A review of the current literature on American revolutionary organizations reveals minimal information for analyzing the New World Liberation Front. Questions such as how they are organized, the number of active members, their age, ethnic origin, educational background and political orientation are largely unanswered.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to present a descriptive analysis of the New World Liberation Front. A secondary purpose is to present a study which enables law enforcement to better understand the organization in order to develop techniques for dealing with its demands for social change through terrorist activity.

Scope and Limitations of Study

The scope of this study will include a systematic

review of the popular literature on the topic of the Symbionese Liberation Army as well as the New World Liberation Front. Little has been written about the New World Liberation Front in popular publications however, limited information is available on its early days of its existence because of its close links with the surviving members of the SLA. A majority of the information on the NWLF has come from a review of government and law enforcement publications dealing with terrorism and terrorist groups in the United States, as well as radical and underground publications in the San Francisco Bay area, including the periodical The Urban Guerrilla published by the People's Information Relay #1; the aboveground unit of the NWLF.

The scope of this study will be limited to information that provides a systematic description of the NWLF. Interrelationships with other revolutionary groups that have influenced its development must be mentioned in order to view the NWLF in the context of the revolutionary movement in the United States. However, these groups will only be covered in sufficient detail to enable the reader to observe that the NWLF did not develop in a social vacuum and certainly does not exist in one.

A study dealing with the description of a currently active underground terrorist organization has several limitations. Since the majority of the group's activities are illegal the available information is often incomplete and biased because the organization hopes to protect its numbers

and supporters from possible sanctions which can be imposed by the government and law enforcement representatives.

Future developments may alter the view of the organization presented in this thesis; however, this study provides a valid description of the New World Liberation Front during a particular period in time. It is further asserted that the future may corroborate or more fully explain the past but it cannot change it. Therefore, it is from this perspective that the results of this study are presented.

Procedure and Methodology Used in Study

The data for this study has been gathered from an extensive review of literature of government and law enforcement publications on the subject of American revolutionary groups, radical and underground newspapers as well as communiques and other publications of the New World Liberation Front. The majority of radical and underground publications were gathered from the files of government and law enforcement agencies as well as university Social Protest libraries and personal contact with the New World Liberation Front's aboveground unit the Peoples Information Relay #1 in San Francisco.

The second phase of this study involved field study interviews of specialists assigned to the California Department of Justice and, the California Specialized Training Institute as well as members of the New World Liberation Front's aboveground unit, the Peoples Information Relay #1.

and supporters from possible sanctions which can be imposed by the government and law enforcement representatives.

Future developments may alter the view of the organization presented in this thesis; however, this study provides a valid description of the New World Liberation Front during a particular period in time. It is further asserted that the future may corroborate or more fully explain the past but it cannot change it. Therefore, it is from this perspective that the results of this study are presented.

Procedure and Methodology Used in Study

The data for this study has been gathered from an extensive review of literature of government and law enforcement publications on the subject of American revolutionary groups, radical and underground newspapers as well as communiques and other publications of the New World Liberation Front. The majority of radical and underground publications were gathered from the files of government and law enforcement agencies as well as university Social Protest libraries and personal contact with the New World Liberation Front's aboveground unit the Peoples Information Relay #1 in San Francisco.

The second phase of this study involved field study interviews of specialists assigned to the California Department of Justice and, the California Specialized Training Institute as well as members of the New World Liberation Front's aboveground unit, the Peoples Information Relay #1.

An open ended questionnaire was used during these interviews; a copy of which is included as Appendix A. The questions were designed to promote a free flowing dialogue that would produce the maximum amount of information on the formation, membership, organization, goals and tactics of the group as well as a prognosis of the groups plans for the future.

It became evident during these interviews that the interviewees responses to the questions were at times influenced by security considerations for ongoing investigations as well as political and legal biases. However, it is asserted that the information that was provided represents the most comprehensive description of the New World Liberation Front to date.

Definition of Terms

1. Aboveground: Is the opposite of Underground and includes those individuals or organizations or activities that are not secret and open to the view of the general public.
2. Armed Struggle: The use of violence such as terrorism to voice or bring attention to an act of protest or revolutionary act.
3. Dead Drop: A system of communication by which a message is placed at a location by one party and picked up by another party without the two parties coming into direct contact with one another.

4. Federation: A concept of "many detached cells operating independently with no apparent central leadership function, relying on behavioral contagion to spark increases in violent activities, it operates similar [sic] to a coalition, but much more loose."[8]

5. Group: A collection of individuals under autonomous leadership which is larger than a unit and smaller than an organization. It may be made up of one or more units and may affiliate itself with a larger organization while maintaining its own leadership and integrity. Examples might be the Red Guerrilla Family, Chicano Liberation Front who have affiliated themselves with the NWLF but remain a separate entity.

6. Leftist: "...a person whose political position is radical or liberal."[9]

7. Organization: A combination of more than one unit or group who have collected under one name or designation, like the NWLF.

8. Radical: Extreme, such as favoring extreme or fundamental change.[10]

9. Revolution: "...the overthrow of a government...or social system by those governed and usually by forceful means, with another government or system taking its place."[11]

10. Terrorism: While there is no widely accepted definition of terrorism, Webster's Dictionary defines it as "the use of Terror and or violence to intimidate,

subjugate, especially as a political weapon or policy."[4] Then according to James Stinson it could be threats, coercion, and/or physical acts of intimidation of almost any type.[5] Brian Jenkins goes even one step further by stating that "... terrorism is theater..." an act of violence aimed at those watching to an even greater extent than the actual victim.[6] Without the audience an act of violence designed to intimidate would be an exercise in futility. For the purpose of this study terrorism is defined as any act designed to intimidate whether it be an act or threat of violence.

11. Terrorist: Like terrorism there is no widely accepted definition of a terrorist; what is a terrorist to one segment of the political spectrum may be a freedom fighter or patriot to another segment, and a common criminal to yet another. For the purpose of this study a terrorist is defined as one who is associated with or a member of a group who uses violence or the threat of violence to intimidate others to meeting the group's demands. Also, as James Stinson has said, the terrorist is not in most cases an irrational, unthinking maniac, but rather an intelligent and calculating revolutionary fighting behind a cause.[7]

12. Umbrella Organization: A loosely knit number of autonomous units operating as if it were one organization such as the Palestine Liberation Organization and

the NWLF.

13. Underground: As used in the context of this study is defined as a group, individual, or activity whose true identity is secret and unknown to the general public.

14. Unit: One or more individuals operating together as the smallest segment of a larger collection which combines to make up a group or organization.

15. Urban Guerrilla: A term used to describe an individual who is involved in combat or terrorist activity and is not a member of a recognized army; whose theater of activity is a city or other urban area.

Organization of Remainder of Study

The thesis is organized in four chapters and an appendix. Chapter I contains the introduction, statement of the problem, scope, and limitations of the study, procedure and methodology of the study and a list of definitions of terms. Chapter II contains a review of the pertinent literature including books, government and law enforcement publications, periodicals, as well as communiques and periodicals of the alternate press. Chapter III contains the results of interviews obtained from authorities on the subject of terrorist groups in California. Chapter IV provides a description of the New World Liberation Front together with conclusions drawn from this study and recommendations for dealing with

domestic terrorism.

FOOTNOTES

[1]American Security Council Washington Report May 1976. Boston: American Security Council Press, June 2, 1976, p.4F.

[2]Ibid., p. 4F.

[3]National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1976, p. 519.

[4]Webster's New World Dictionary, 2nd College Edition. "Terrorism", New York: The World Publishing Company, 1970, p. 1469.

[5]James L. Stinson, Terrorism: United States Domestic Analysis, (San Luis Obispo: California Specialized Training Institute, August 5, 1977), p. 1.

[6]Brian Jenkins, International Terrorism: A New Kind of Warfare (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1974), p.4.

[7]Stinson, p. 1.

[8]Stinson, p. 2.

[9]Webster's New World Dictionary, "Leftist".

[10]Ibid. "Radical".

[11]Ibid. "Revolution".

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

> When you deal with the past, you're dealing with history, you're dealing actually with the origin of a thing. When you know the origin, you know the cause. If you don't know the origin, you don't know the cause, you don't know the reason, you're just cut off, you're left standing in mid-air. So the past deals with history or the origin of anything--the origin of a person, the origin of a nation, the origin of an incident. And when you know the origin, then you have a better understanding of the causes that produce whatever originated there and its reason for being. It's impossible for you and me to have a balanced mind in this society without going into the past, because in this particular society as we function and fit into it right now, we're such an underdog, we're trampled upon, we're looked on as almost nothing.
>
> Malcolm X

So it is with the study of terrorism in the United States today. The New World Liberation Front as a revolutionary terrorist organization did not just spring up in a vacuum and certainly does not continue to exist in one. Rather it traces its history back to the early 1960's and the beginning of what is commonly referred to as the New Left movement in the United States.

The call for social, economic and political change is neither a new or recently developed phenomenon; nor is it limited to any particular form of government. In a democracy

such as the United States, the call for social change is generally voiced through the established political parties who compete for the representation of the people through popular elections.

The reality of this type of representative system is that a significant portion of the population does not take part in the political process. Of those who do take an active part, there is a significant minority who fail to get their representatives elected, or those representatives that have been elected fail to meet the expectations of a segment of the population. The accepted method of resolving this situation is to form organizations which, while functioning within the system, attempt to bring about changes viewed as necessary for the welfare of the community.

It was out of this framework of the American political system that the Students For A Democratic Society was formed. The group attempted to gain support for its ideas through public demonstrations and bring about the changes perceived as necessary in American society. It was out of this beginning that a reform movement evelved into a revolutionary movement, fought today by underground urban guerrillas using terrorist tactics to bring about social and political change in the United States.

The Students for a Democratic Society

In the early 1960's a call for radical change in the social, economic and political policies of the federal govern-

ment emerged from the youth on college campuses around the country. The Report of the National Advisory Committee on Disorders and Terrorism states that in 1959 a student organization called the Students For A Democratic Society was formed for the purpose of raising a collective voice in opposition to the political policies of the United States. At first they existed as a loosely knit group until they came under the leadership of Tom Hayden; as a result of his speech at the 1962 SDS Convention at Port Huron, Michigan.[1] The Port Huron statement as it came to be known called for an alliance of students, Blacks, peace groups and liberals to raise their voice in opposition to the United States policy of imperialism. Their objective according to the report was not to overthrow the government but rather to influence its policies by reform of the Democratic Party. As a result of its civil rights efforts in the South on behalf of the Southern Blacks and opposition to the American participation in the Vietnam War, the membership grew rapidly. As stated in the report the SDS was responsible for organizing the first mass anti-Vietnam War march in Washington D.C. in 1965. The young people in SDS firmly believed that they could influence government policy regarding the War and racism at home through public demonstrations.[2]

The judiciary report on the formation and objectives of the SDS is accurate as far as it goes but is far too brief to provide any real understanding of the people who made up the SDS and how their idealistic efforts came to

spawn one of the most radical and violent revolutionary groups of the 1960's. Harold Jacobs' Weatherman provides perhaps one of the best descriptions of the early days of the SDS organization and their evolution into the ultra radical Weathermen. He too states that the SDS emerged as a result of students outraged and disenchanted with America because of its policies regarding racism, poverty and the Vietnam War. Jacobs then added something that the Report On Disorders and Terrorism omitted: he states that as a result of the "...failure of legal and nonviolent protests to eradicate social injustice ... drove young activists towards greater militancy."[3]

By the mid-1960's the SDS was divided into three opposing camps: The Progressive Labor Party, and the Revolutionary Youth Movements I and II. According to Jacobs the PLP was a self-styled Marxist-Leninist-Maoist group who originally "...helped to broaden SDS's view from concern with an exclusively student movement to one rooted in the working class."[4] However, they advocated that the working class or the industrial proletariat as they called it should lead a socialist revolution in the United States.[5]

The SDS faced with suppression by the police and the government was no longer concerned with the reform of the existing system, the call now was for revolution. The PLP advocated a White supremacy movement that did not support the Black liberation movement. They went so far as attacking the struggles of the Black students, the Black Panther Party

and the revolutionary governments of Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.[6]

The Revolutionary Youth Movement I and II formed a coalition which succeeded in ousting the PLP influence from the SDS, but for different reasons. Jacobs states that "RYM in contrast to PLP sought to make SDS into a mass revolutionary organization of youth which would fight against imperialism and in support of the Black liberation struggle. The essential difference between the two RYM factions concerned the role of violence in building a mass based anti-imperialist movement." RYM II advocated curbing student violence against the state in order to build a broad based organization of students and workers. RYM II believed that student violence alienated workers who had not yet achieved revolutionary consciousness. RYM I which went on to become the Weatherman faction defined workers in a much broader sense than did RYM II, that included almost all Americans. The Weathermen saw "... sustained armed struggle against the state as the best means of creating revolutionary consciousness among the masses of American People."[7] By the end of 1969 the Weatherman faction had split from the SDS and gone underground to wage their brand of revolutionary struggle. According to Jacobs it was this split of the Weathermen which caused the SDS, which once had a membership of 70,000 to 100,000 to begin a decline into total disintegration.[8]

Weatherman provides a rare insight into the factionalization that occurred within the SDS from the view point

of one who was a member of the SDS at the time, and close to the internal struggles that had taken place prior to its collapse. Many other accounts given by both popular authors as well as law enforcement and government publications provide virtually the same observation of the internal factionalization but as a rule these accounts were written from information that was obtained second hand or from a government point of view.

Before moving on to the evolution of the Weathermen and the most radical and violent groups that went on to continue the battle of the New Left it is necessary to briefly cover some of the basic feelings of the movement and issues they believed were important enough to reject their relatively comfortable middle class life style and adopt the life style of criminals and terrorists.

Tom Hayden's Port Huron Statement is perhaps the single most important document of the New Left movement in America. It was a result of this paper that the SDS organization was transformed from just another campus group into a movement that has significantly changed the history of dissident protest in the United States. The revolutionaries of today constantly make reference to Hayden's indictment of the American political short comings to justify their own efforts to transform the United States and the world into a better place in which to live.

Hayden began:

We are people of this generation, bred in at least

> modest comfort, housed in Universities, looking uncomforatbly to the world we inherit.
>
> When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and the strongest country in the world; the only one with the atomic bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for the individual, government of, by, and for the people -- These American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.[9]

The youth that had been born in the prosperous war years were coming of age. According to Hayden they looked around them and found the contradictions that existed in 1960 American to blatant to ignore. Two wars had been fought, in the past twenty years, to preserve democracy yet racial bigotry and the oppression of minorities still existed in America, especially in the South. The poor and the aged were ignored and cast aside by the wealthiest nation in the world. Hayden said the nation was in the grip of complacent conservatism, and no one was interested in taking a chance to change things. Abroad they saw United States imperialism making the rich richer and the poor suffering under oppression from their own country. Perhaps worst of all they saw many Americans as apathetic toward all the tarnished values of freedom and equality that students had seen shining so brightly as children.[10]

The revolutionary terrorists of today say many of the very same things. In the beginning the SDS had a faith in the people in general and the political system in particular. They believed that people working within the existing political

framework could improve the plight of the Black in the South and bring an end to America's participation in the Vietnam War. Hayden stated that "the goal of man and society should be human independence."[11] The SDS was seeking to establish a democracy of individual participation so that the individual would share in the making of those social decisions that governed his life.[12] Hayden went on to say that the SDS found "... violence to be abhorrent" as a means to effect social change. He suggested that local, national and international governments be encouraged to develop nonviolent means of resolving conflict.[13]

In closing his address Hayden called on the New Left to start controversy throughout the United States in order to change national policies and reduce apathy. He called for an alliance of Blacks, students, peace groups and labor to exert their influence on the Democratic Party to be instrumental in bringing about these changes.[14] Going even further he said it was the duty of those of the New Left to transform the complex social, economic and political issues of the day to a form that could be easily understood by the masses; so that they too could organize, and bring pressure and change society. "Politicians .... respond not to dialogue but to pressure."[15]

The statement was intended to arouse the consciousness in the youth and inspire them to become the leadership that was needed in order to break the bonds of impotence and apathy that was holding the country back from realizing

its democratic potential for social justice and human freedom. According to Hayden the SDS believed that "...politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community."[16]

Today the rhetoric is much the same except that instead of attempting to mobilize the masses to become infolved in the political process the New World Liberation Front is attempting to rally the people toward armed revolution. The Port Huron Statement was probably the most comprehensive radical ideological statement of the time. Who could deny that their cause was just and their stand on non-violence to accomplish their goals admirable. These were idealistic youth who were out to arouse the indignation of apathetic Americans to reform the Democratic Party to make possible a social, economic and political utopia in their life time.

However, Harold Jacobs maintains that the SDS had not anticipated the rigidity they encountered in both the government and liberal corporate structure.[17] The SDS's legal and non-violent protests led to their arrest and suppression by both government and law enforcement agencies. By the mid-1960's the faction within the SDS which would later evolve into the Weathermen began to advocate more radical and violent demonstrations against what they saw as social injustice. Mario Savio, a Berkeley Free Speech Movement leader in the mid-1960's summed up the youth's frustration with years of unproductive legal and non-violent protest:

There is a time when the operation of the machine

> becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part: you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies on the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop.[18]

Non-violence as a tactic to bring about social change was short lived. By the mid-1960's the SDS had adopted more radical and violent tactics to press its demands for social change and an end to the Vietnam War. Anthony Esler's Bombs Beards and Barricades relates that in 1965 the American participation in the Vietnam War was escalated from 25,000 to 200,000, which prompted the SDS to stage the first major anti-Vietnam War protest march. Leading a mass of 70,000 protesters to Washington, D.C. promptly tripled the number of SDS chapters from 35 to over 100.[19]

Throughout 1966 and 1967 the New Left movement held draft card burning rallies, flag burnings and encouraged draftees to refuse to report for military induction. They closed down induction centers and held demonstrations against war industries such as Dow Chemical, the makers of napalm. As the movement grew increasingly more radical and violent the cleavage between the young activists and their middle class elders grew even deeper.[20]

According to Esler the result of this increased violence was a pattern familiar in the history of youth revolution, repression. Federal and local law enforcement organized and began to infiltrate and harass the radicals. He adds that under the growing weight of oppression the drift from non-violence to terrorism was as predictable as darkness after day.[21]

In 1968 aggressive revolutionaries like Mark Rudd of the Weatherman faction of SDS led a series of university strikes and campus occupations which closed down Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, Berkeley and many other colleges around the country. Esler relates that the SDS Weatherman faction no longer passively waited for the police to arrest them, instead they charged police helmeted like their Japanese comrades armed with sticks and bricks.[22] The militants shouted that super-imperialistic America must be destroyed for the safety of mankind.

Esler's view is that only a small minority of radicals were responsible for such drastic views. He quotes a Kent State demonstrator as saying, "What's the point? Everything's been tried -- new politics, demonstrations, even blowing things up, nothing works. You can't change the system." Esler goes on to say that this frustration caused the fragmentation of the SDS and the youth turned their back on militance and the movement died. He added further that the movement of the 1960's was not likely to have an immediate successor and that the next revolutionary generation would draw little inspiration from their futile confrontations with the inexorate system.[23]

It is obvious that Esler wrote his book prior to the Weatherman split with the SDS or he would have seen a continuation of the same movement utilizing different tactics. He neglected to foresee the emergence of the Weathermen as an underground urban guerrilla force that would keep the movement

alive well into the 1970's through rhetoric accompanied by bombings.

Bombs, Beards and Barricades provides an excellent chronicle of the 1960's radical movement in America by filling the gap between the non-violent demonstrations of the SDS in the early years through the more violent protests of the Weatherman faction in the later years. However, Esler apparently overlooked, or was unaware of, the influence that revolutionaries outside the country had on American groups, especially the Weathermen.

As American radicals entered this new phase of development it is important to remember that the distinction between a patriot or freedom fighter and a terrorist is one of perspective. For the most part it depends which side one is on and which side eventually wins the struggle. Many of the founding fathers of our own country had been loyal British subjects prior to their efforts to change England's attitudes and policies toward its American colonies. During the revolution the individuals that we consider patriots today were considered to be terrorists and traitors by England. In the same light the assistance given by France to the American cause of revolution was viewed with disdain by Great Britain.

In more recent history Menachem Begin of Israel and Fidel Castro of Cuba were considered terrorists by the governments whom they fought for what they considered freedom and independence. Today both of these men are

leaders of their countries and looked upon as heroes and patriots. In our own country, during the late 1960's Tom Hayden was tried and convicted for his radical and terrorist activities and sent to jail for refusal to serve in the armed forces for a cause he believed was unjust. Yet in 1978 just ten years later, Hayden is praised by the current American president for the contributions that he had made to the country as a result of his activist activities.[24]

In the mid-1960's members of the Weathermen faction of the SDS realizing that their legal and non-violent activities were gaining them nothing but suppression from the police looked to the leaders of successful revolutions outside the country for help, much as the American revolutionaries of 1776 had done in seeking help from France. Whether the Weathermen radicals contacted the Cubans for help or the Cubans contacted them is unclear even today. What is clear is that Cathlyn Wilkerson, editor of an SDS weekly publication New Left Notes traveled to Cuba in the summer of 1966.[25] In November to December 1967 Wilkerson, Jeffery Jones, and two other members of the Weathermen faction of the SDS traveled to Paris and Cambodia for discussions with North Vietnamese officials.[26]

The 1975 Senate Subcommittee report entitled The Weather-Underground relates that the February 20, 1968 issue of the Florida Alligator, a daily campus newspaper of the University of Florida at Gainsville, carried an article stating that 20 SDS members including Mark Rudd were currently

in Cuba as guests of the Cuban government. The group allegedly went to Cuba, says the Alligator, "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) of South Vietnam."[27]

It is interesting to note that almost immediately upon their return from these trips and meetings with North Vietnamese, North Koreans and Cuban officials, the tactics of the SDS Weathermen faction became increasingly more violent. For example, almost immediately after Mark Rudd's return from Cuba in March 1968, he led the first violent occupation and closing down of an American University (Columbia).[28] Just prior to that takeover, which involved both Black and White demonstrators, the Weathermen faction had been successful in forming an alliance with the then very militant and violent Black Panthers.

Weather-Underground Organization

In June 1969 at the SDS Convention in Chicago a paper entitled You Don't Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows was presented which attempted to establish the SDS as a White radical youth movement. The Senate report on the Weather Underground states that the main point of the Weatherman statement was the proposition that the United States imperialism was the main focus of an international struggle. The Senate report further saw the Weatherman paper as recognizing that third world guerrillas were the leaders of the fight against American imperialism abroad.

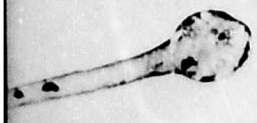
The Senate report further concluded that the Weatherman statement called for a prolonged guerrilla war within the United States that would accomplish the overthrow of the American political system and its military industrial complex.[29]

The evolution of the SDS from a nonviolent reform organization to that of a militant revolutionary organization of guerrilla fighters, with the assistance of foreign revolutionaries, was almost complete. According to the same Senate report in July 1969 American radicals were again invited back to Cuba to meet with third world revolutionaries. It was shortly after their return from these meetings that Bernardine Dohrn announced that the SDS would actively support the Venceremos Brigade.[30] The Brigade was considered a youth effort to assist the Cuban government in the harvest of the sugar cane crop. However, many of those who participated in the program were Weathermen and it was suspected that during their stay selected Brigade members were receiving training in the various aspects of guerrilla warfare and bomb making.[31] It was suggested by Ron Koziol, reporter for the Chicago Tribune, that the October 1969 riots in Chicago were actually planned in Cuba with the aid of Latin American and Asian Communists.[32] It was also in October of 1969 that the Weathermen claimed their first bombing; the police statue in Haymarket Square.[33]

According to the Senate report on the Weather Underground, in December 1969 the Weathermen faction split up

into small para-military units of 5-6 "... to carry out urban guerrilla warfare for the purpose of bringing about revolution in the United States. The necessity of killing police and self-instruction in the use of firearms and bombs was stressed."[34] After claiming a couple of bombings and a sniper attack on the police the Weathermen faction went underground in January 1970. In March 1970 a Weathermen bomb factory set up in a Grenwich Village townhouse exploded. Three of the five occupants, Ted Gold, Diana Oughton, and Terry Robins were killed while Cathy Wilkerson and Kathy Boudin escaped. For the next three years the Weather Underground, as they had come to be known, claimed a series of bombings centered around the east coast cities of Boston, New York and Washington D.C. and throughout California.

The purpose of this brief chronology of Weathermen activities during 1968 and 1969 is to point out that the underlying goals of the New Left movement had remained basically the same. What had changed was their tactics; as a result of the ineffectiveness of non-violent protest and the influence of foreign revolutionary organizations. Virtually the same people who had been the leaders of the SDS protest movement of the early 1960's were now the revolutionary terrorists of the early 1970's.



It is perhaps easy today to look back on those times and say that if the nation's leaders had listened and recognized some of the valid arguments that the reformists had called for rather than attempting to suppress their voice

that the evolution to more violent measures would not have occurred. However, on the other side it is just as valid to state that a relatively small group of citizens do not have the right to violate the existing laws of the country in order to demand acceptance of their politics. So the struggle of the two factions has continued.

The Weather Underground's attempt to lead the second American Revolution was doomed to failure for a number of reasons. First many of the leaders of the Weathermen had been members of the SDS and involved in many of the street demonstrations of the early '60's. As such, they were known to the police. Secondly, the SDS being an above ground organization was at one time heavily infiltrated by the police. A number of these infiltrators went underground with the Weathermen in an effort to disrupt their activities as well as keep the police informed of the potential threat they posed to the security of the United States. Thirdly, an article written by four former Weathermen points out the major failing of the Weather Underground efforts to start a mass revolution. Inessa, Victor Camilo, Lilina Jones and Norman Reed point out that although the Weathermen "... were the first organized White group to publicly stress the importance of armed struggle in America", and despite their militant reputation, their military skill was minimal. According to them, the Weather Underground saw itself as a fifth column movement, with the objective of creating strategic armed chaos rather than an attempt to build and

lead a mass movement that would become a peoples army.[35]

The objectives of guerrilla warfare is pointed out by Che Guevara:

> It is important to emphasize that guerrilla warfare is a war of the masses, a war of the people. The guerrilla band is an armed nucleus, the fighting vanguard of the people. It draws its great force from the masses of the people themselves...The guerrilla fighter needs full help from the people of the area. This is an indispensable condition.[36]

It is quite possible that the leaders of the Weather Underground did realize their original errors because in a December 6, 1970 communique Bernardine Dohrn said:

> We want to express ourselves (Weathermen) to the mass movement not as military leaders, but as tribes at council. It has been nine months since the town-house explosion. In that time, the future of our revolution has been changed decisively. A growing illegal organization of young women and men can live and fight and love inside Babylon.
>
> It is time for the movement to go into the air to organize, to risk calling rallies and demonstrations to convince that mass actions against the war and in support of rebellions do make a difference.[37]

The public demonstrations and bombings apparently did make a difference because in 1972 the United States began withdrawing its troops from Vietnam and American participation in the War terminated. However, this apparent success marked the beginning of the decline of Weather Underground terrorist activities as indicated in a chronology of New Left activities (Appendix B). The loss of a national issue which had kept the country divided for almost ten years had come to an end and there was no other issue available with which to appeal to the people for further violent action.

However, the movement did not die it just shifted

its priorities. Recruitment attempts for the revolutionary army moved into a new area: the prisons. The Weather Underground is still alive and to an extent active but now more as the Godfather or patriarch of the revolutionary movement and not the front line fighters. Many of its members have been active in the movement for almost twenty years and some of them have been living underground for almost a decade.

Now its time to leave the Weather Underground Organization and continue the evolutionary development of the New Left movement through the two groups which spawned many of the alledged members of the New World Liberation Front.

Venceremos Organization

The first of these two groups is the Venceremos Organization founded by H. Bruce Franklin in 1971, as an offshoot of the Revolutionary Union which had evolved from the Progressive Labor Party within the SDS. According to the California Specialized Training Institute paper entitled Terrorism: United States Domestic Analysis, the organization was made up of Maoists who believed in armed struggle and acts of terrorism. They believed that the "revolution could be started in three years instigated by terrorist tactics from small guerrilla units." Their tactics called for sniping attacks on police, bombings, ambush killings, sabotage, strikes and mass demonstrations.[38] It should be recognized that many of these tactics had been previously advocated by

the Weather Underground. Even the name of the organization, Venceremos, which means "we shall conquer" had been previously associated with the Weathermen because of their involvement in the Venceremos Brigades in Cuba. It has been reported that some members of Franklin's Venceremos Organization had been members of the Venceremos Brigades.

Although there were many similarities to the Weather Underground there were two important differences. According to Bryan the Venceremos was organized as a split level organization. One level working above ground organizing public demonstrations advocating various causes especially prison reform, while the other level was organized as a strictly underground combat guerrilla army.[39] This is the organizational format the Weather Underground had advocated but never managed to put into practice.

The California Specialized Training Institute reports that the Venceremos Organization began an intensive recruitment program within the California prison system and made it known that they would assist in the escape of certain prisoners.[40] They made good their promise on at least one occasion when one of their units ambushed a prison convoy, on October 6, 1972, killing a correctional officer and effecting the escape of Ronald Beatty.[41] Beatty's subsequent recapture resulted in the prisoner providing information that led to the eventual disbanding of the organization.[42] In Voices of Guns, Beatty is quoted as saying that the Venceremos Organization had planned to set up training camps for underground members and recruited prisoners. According to Beatty

"the camp would produce a ten-man terrorist squad every sixty to ninety days, trained for a specific assignment. Upon completing their assignment they would split into two five-man teams, move on to different cities, and set up their own camps."[43] Whether the plan would have worked or not is debatable because it was never put into effect by Venceremos but now may have been put into practice by the NWLF, which will be discussed later.

In August 1973, the Venceremos Organization issued a press release stating that they were disbanding because they had been infiltrated by the police and were losing their effectiveness. However, according to the California Specialized Training Institute, authorities intercepted a message from one Venceremos member to another during the same period of time stating: "Don't believe everything you read in the papers. It's true we have been infiltrated...but we are not disbanding. We are breaking up into smaller cadres and going underground. We will surface at a later date, possibly under another name."[44]

Symbionese Liberation Army

It is the belief of CSTI analysts that some former Venceremos members were the founders of the fourth stage of development in the New Left Revolutionary struggle, the Symbionese Liberation Army.[45] However, it is doubted that the SLA is the organization that the Venceremos organization formed to continue its objective of revolutionary struggle,

"the camp would produce a ten-man terrorist squad every sixty to ninety days, trained for a specific assignment. Upon completing their assignment they would split into two five-man teams, move on to different cities, and set up their own camps."[43] Whether the plan would have worked or not is debatable because it was never put into effect by Venceremos but now may have been put into practice by the NWLF, which will be discussed later.

In August 1973, the Venceremos Organization issued a press release stating that they were disbanding because they had been infiltrated by the police and were losing their effectiveness. However, according to the California Specialized Training Institute, authorities intercepted a message from one Venceremos member to another during the same period of time stating: "Don't believe everything you read in the papers. It's true we have been infiltrated...but we are not disbanding. We are breaking up into smaller cadres and going underground. We will surface at a later date, possibly under another name."[44]

Symbionese Liberation Army

It is the belief of CSTI analysts that some former Venceremos members were the founders of the fourth stage of development in the New Left Revolutionary struggle, the Symbionese Liberation Army.[45] However, it is doubted that the SLA is the organization that the Venceremos organization formed to continue its objective of revolutionary struggle,

more likely, they formed what is now known as the NWLF.

There are various accounts as to how the personalities who were to become the SLA happened to come together at the California Prison Medical Facility at Vacaville; and into contact with Donald DeFreeze, the Black convict who would eventually lead the SLA through its brief but explosive assault on the United States in the name of revolution.

John Bryan, in his This Soldier Still at War, a commentary of the involvement of Joseph Remiro with the SLA, maintains there is little doubt that Joseph Remiro, Thero Wheeler, Angela Atwood and William and Emily Harris were all members of Venceremos. Also, that Russel Little, Willie Wolfe and Mizmoon Soltysik were on the periphery of the group's activities.[46] Bryan goes on to assert that the Venceremos Organization was an off-shoot of the Revolutionary Union, which he further states was the other half of the SDS Weathermen split.[47] He goes on to state that the objective of Venceremos' terrorist campaign was to promote a state of repression, a tactic somewhat typical of Asian and Latin American terrorists. Those in Venceremos believed that this repression "... would polarize the masses and bring millions to the cause of revolution."[48] Needless to say, this development never occurred.

According to the majority of authors who have written on the subject of the formation of the SLA it was Willie Wolfe who put the Weathermen and Venceremos objectives of finding Black leadership for the revolution into practice.

In March 1972 Willie Wolfe became a tutor in the Vacaville prisoner group known as the Black Cultural Association. It was through this activity that he met and was impressed by two Black prisoners, Thero Wheeler and Donald DeFreeze. Wolfe encouraged his Venceremos friends to become active in the Black Cultural Association and it was here that they found Donald DeFreeze to lead them in the revolution. By August 1973, both DeFreeze and Wheeler with the aid of the newly formed SLA, had escaped from prison.

According to Bryan the revolutionary question as the SLA saw it was no longer whether to fight, but how. Radicals like Nancy Ling Perry who had become an SLA member believed that revolution was legally and morally justified because the United States was already a dictatorship. Bryan goes on to say that those like Perry "... who believe that a dictatorship is already here, jump to the next conclusion (one that is verified by the Declaration of Independence) that Americans have an inalienable right to rebel against tyranny as well as to alter and abolish such states and institute a new government."[49]

The SLA theory and tactics behind exactly how this would be accomplished was virtually identical to the tactics of the Venceremos organization as related by Ronald Beatty. According to Remiro small units of armed guerrillas would be formed. By splitting off and forming new units would develop the struggle "... over a long period of years to the point that the guerrillas would hold the majority of the power."[50]

The SLA theory did not call for a mass uprising and insurrection. The revolution would be won piece meal.

Bryan goes on to state that "the inability of previous revolutionary movements to bring together any wide spectrum of dissenting groups has been the main stumbling block to insurrectional success in the past."[51] The Symbionese Federation was going to change all of that and draw its members from the aged, youth, women and men of all races. Hence the name Symbionese, which is taken from the word symbiosis, which the SLA defined as a "body of dissimilar bodies and organisms living in ... harmony and partnership in the best interest of all within the body."[52]

William Harris explained that the SLA came into being because the people refused to wait for the other so-called revolutionary groups to lead them in the revolution that would never come. According to Bryan the SLA had attempted to get backing from two Black revolutionary prison groups, the Black Liberation Army and the Black Guerrilla Family but were dismissed as just another White Berkeley group talking revolution. The same attitude existed among a number of SLA recruits. A lot of the members dropped out when the SLA decided to operate alone, and when the final decision was made to assassinate Marcus Foster; the Black Superintendent of Oakland Public Schools.[53] What remained was a small, dedicated, and violence-prone hard core who were going to practice revolution.

On November 6, 1973, Marcus Foster was assassinated

by means of cyanide tipped bullets. On January 10, 1974, Joseph Remiro and Russel Little were arrested, identified as SLA members and charged with the Foster murder.[54] Bryan states that leftist radicals including Angela Davis and Jerry Rubin had been very critical of the Foster killing before the arrests of Little and Remiro. In addition, those groups which had been on the periphery of the SLA such as the Black Panthers stated that they could not condone the recent killing.[55]

John Bryan provides one of the most detailed descriptions of the Venceremos ties : th the SLA. He tells the story of the SLA from the perspective of a member who was actually a part of the saga from the beginning.

Les Payne and Tom Findley, in Life and Death of the SLA, maintains that the assassination of Marcus Foster was a tactical error that earned the SLA the scorn of both the Black and White San Francisco Bay area radicals.[56] If desperation for acceptance as leaders of the revolution had driven them before, this rejection from the Left created almost an obsession to provide evidence that they were seriously dedicated revolutionaries who were capable of starting the revolution now.

According to Payne and Findley the SLA began to study the Uruguayan Tupamaro's type of political kidnappings and their use of propaganda in gaining the support of the people.[57] It is not known exactly why, but on February 4, 1974, Patricia Hearst became America's first political kidnap victim. If the

SLA's goal was to gain publicity then their action was an overwhelming success. However, from that moment, the group became less influential. The lack of support from the Left, the unobtainable demands and the efforts of the legitimate press all did their part to isolate the SLA from its base of support to an even greater degree than had existed after the Foster assassination. Even the two million dollar food giveaway demanded by the SLA did not seem to win them the support of the Left or the poor people. The SLA had neglected to build a base of support prior to launching their reign of terror. Avoiding the massive dragnet that had been laid for them around the San Francisco Bay area they fled to Los Angeles to seek refuge in one of the cities Black ghetto areas. Tracked down by the police and turned in by one of the residents, six of the nine remaining SLA members died in a gun battle with Los Angeles police.[58]

New World Liberation Front

In death the SLA had accomplished something they had failed to do in life. They provided a rallying point and martyrs for the cause of a revolutionary armed struggle. In John Bryan's This Soldier Still at War, Joseph Remiro says that on May 25, 1974, just a week after the SLA shootout, a number of underground groups, who had previously not worked together held a meeting praising the SLA. To Remiro it appeared that the SLA goal of bringing Black and White revolutionaries together was finally a reality. He went on to say

that the result of this meeting was the creation of a new umbrella group called the United Peoples Liberation Army; which was to coordinate the activities of the remaining units of the SLA, The Black Liberation Army, the Black Guerrilla Family and the New World Liberation Front.[59]

Extensive research has led this writer to believe that this is the earliest recorded reference to the existence of a group by that name in the San Francisco Bay area. William Harris's often quoted sentence in the last SLA communique on June 7, 1974 is perhaps the second reference to a group known as the New World Liberation Front. In that communique Harris announced that the Malcolm X Combat Unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army was joining the ranks of the New World Liberation Front.[60] Prior to this period it must be assumed that the organization existed and was known throughout at least a segment of the Berkeley radical underground. Otherwise it would not be logical that they be invited to attend a secret meeting of underground radicals and permitted to become a member of the newly formed umbrella group. It would also explain why the SLA was so quick to join a new group; it was merely the rejoining of two factions of the old Venceremos Organization.

According to Payne and Findley the title New World Liberation Front was first used by Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver in 1969 in describing a political organization of third world people and radical Whites.[61] Payne and Findley go on to relate that during the spring and summer of 1975

the NWLF took credit for a number of bombings in the San Francisco Bay area. They also mention that police found an unsent NWLF communique in an apartment shared by Wendy Yoshimura and Patricia Hearst claiming credit for the assassination of Wilbur "Popeye" Jackson, the president of the United Prisoners Union. They further state that William Harris admits writing a communique that was delivered by the Bay Area Research Collective that charged the police with killing Jackson but denied that anyone in the NWLF wrote the other one or had anything to do with the murder of Jackson. Harris is quoted as saying "A lot of people use NWLF and SLA to add excitement and legitimacy to what they're doing. We don't know who a lot of these people are."[62]

There is probably a degree of truth to Harris's statement taking into account that the NWLF on a number of occasions in their publication The Urban Guerrilla invited individuals and groups to join the NWLF and use their name.[63] The truth about the communiques may never be known but it is difficult to understand how an unsent communique would be in an apartment that had been occupied by two NWLF members if they had not written it.

Other than these few bits of information that was not found in any other literature, Payne and Findley do not offer much information on the topic of the NWLF. In all probability this is because the book is about the history of the SLA and in 1976 when the book was published there was not a great deal of information available concerning the organization.

In 1977 Vin Mclellan, a former editor of the Phoenix, Boston's major alternative weekly and Paul Avery, a veteran investigative reporter, who covered the entire SLA/Patricia Hearst story for the San Francisco Chronicle, collaborated on a book entitled The Voices of Guns. Their work provides probably the best account of the relationship of the NWLF with the SLA.[64]

Perhaps the biggest mystery that confronts law enforcement on the subject of the NWLF is its membership. Mclellan and Avery suggest that Kathy Soliah, her sister Josaphine, her brother Steven and their friends Bonnie Wilder, James Kilgore, Pat Jean McCarthy, Michel Bortin, Willie Brandt, and Wendy Yoshimura may have made up the membership of the NWLF prior to being joined by the remnants of the SLA in June 1974.[65] It was reported in the San Francisco Chronicle that by February 1975, the San Francisco Bay area was averaging a bombing every sixteen days and "... lawmen were embarrassed and chagrined that they have not been able to make a single arrest - and they are not even sure whom to suspect..."; at least not until the former SLA members were arrested and Patricia Hearst began talking to the FBI.[66] Although the NWLF had a standing invitation to other groups to adopt the name and one or more units did claim bombings in the name of the NWLF, according to Patricia Hearst it was William Harris and his new group of followers who were responsible for most of the two dozen NWLF bombings up until September 18, 1975, when the Harris's, Patricia Hearst and

lendy Yoshimura were captured.[67] A complete list of the twenty-one different unit titles used by the NWLF is included in this study as Appendix C.

According to some police observers at the time, the arrests of the SLA unit of the NWLF would bring an end to the activities of the organization. Similar claims would be made by the police after the arrest of the Emiliano Zapata group in February 1976. Both predictions proved to be without merit.

Unlike many of the revolutionary terrorist groups that had preceeded them, the NWLF originated as an underground group, apparently taking note of the fact that the downfall of many previous groups had occurred as a result of being able to back trace the membership after the capture of some of its members. This tactic has afforded them the security they needed to remain unknown to the police but hampered their ability to get their message across to the people. To minimize this problem they utilized existing radical publications such as the Bay Area Research Collectives Dragon, New Dawn Party's The People United and the Berkeley Barb to act as an information outlet. While this tactic worked fairly well as long as the NWLF was actively bombing and making news it was not effective as far as publishing the volumes of rhetoric that the NWLF wanted to get out to the people, during periods of reduced activity.

In June 1975 Popeye Jackson had publicly denounced the revolutionaries of the Left for attacking buildings

with their bombs rather than people and urged groups as the NWLF to adopt tactics in the style of the former SLA: kidnappings and assassinations. Shortly there after the NWLF denounced Jackson as a provacator [sic] and police informer. Within a few days Jackson and his school teacher girlfriend Sally Voye were murdered and a communique was received by Paul Avery of the San Francisco Chronicle claiming responsibility for the NWLF. A few days later the NWLF in another communique disclaimed the validity of the first communique and called upon the Black Liberation Army members to help the NWLF prove Jackson was an informant and that the NWLF had no part in his murder.

The major significance of this development pointed to the need of the NWLF for an information outlet that they controlled and which would give them backing in a controversy that might arise with other radical groups and also as an above ground contact point for the various NWLF units to contact one another.

An ex-convict calling himself Jacques Rogier responded to the NWLF request for an investigation into the matter of Jackson's involvement with the police by forming a group he called the People's Court. The People's Court published its findings in a 44 page pamphlet entitled Popeye. The conclusion of the court according to Rogier was that Jackson was a "provacator" but had not been an informer for the police. However, in the opinion of the court, whoever had killed Jackson was probably justified because of the damage that

Jackson was doing to the revolutionary movement.[68]

Whether his role in the Popeye investigation brought Rogier into contact with the NWLF, or whether he was a member of the NWLF prior to his activities involving The People's Court is unclear. What is clear is that from that point on, The People's Court became the above ground outlet for NWLF communiques much as Kathy Soliah's Bay Area Research Collective had started out as an outlet for the reprinting of SLA communiques and pro-SLA articles. In January 1976 the People's Court was reformed into the People's Information Relay #1 headed by Jacques Rogier.[69]

Although the BARC publication Dragon did not welcome PIR#1 into the family of radical news media it continued to offer glowing praise for the principled theory of the NWLF and their use of terrorist guerrilla tactics aimed at buildings, paying special attention to a policy of non-injury. Dragon #6 credited the NWLF with being instrumental in helping the people recognize that guerrilla forces are part of their community. It goes on to assert that the people are beginning to understand that revolutionary urban guerrillas are not mad bombers, it added that even the legitamate media had begun to refer to the NWLF without always including the term terrorist.[70]

The Dragon has produced a rare insight into the acceptance of the NWLF as a leader of the New Left revolutionary movement by both those of the Left and the non-radical masses. The NWLF has even presumed to go so far as offer

advice to the Weather Underground concerning the later's style of writing. The NWLF suggested that the Weathermen communiques be written more in the language of the poor and working class people, like the NWLF communiques. In that way underground organizations can accent the common bond that exists between the guerrilla forces and the people they claim to represent.[71]

Articles written by the NWLF Central Command and PIR #1 for the Dragon have on accasion contained information about the underground units of the NWLF that will not be found in their own publication The Urban Guerrilla. For example in Dragon #8 the NWLF Central Command publicly announced the formal acceptance of an underground unit that had been operating under the name of the Political Intelligence Unit #1.[72] This action seems to add credibility to their claim that any group can use the title NWLF without the prior approval of the NWLF Central Command. The article goes on to acknowledge the existence of an above ground unit designated as Intelligence Unit #2 which will be the investigative arm of PIR#1. The article from the Central Command goes on to explain that Intelligence Unit #1 is a combat unit which now has the authority to initiate combat action on their own, on targets of their own choosing.[73]

Writing in response to the question of what type of people made up the Central Command of the NWLF, PIR #1 writing for the Dragon stated that the majority of its members came from the poor and oppressed classes adding that

there were also a few who had come from more priveleged backgrounds.[74] Taking into account the broad definition that the leftist groups have given for poor and oppressed people that label could apply to anyone from the poorest ghetto resident, prisoner, or anyone working for wages.

To sum up the BARC Dragon's contribution to the study of the NWLF, it should be kept in mind that the group was originally founded by Kathy Soliah and who along with her brother and sister and a number of close friends are believed to be members of the underground NWLF organization. Therefore the articles tend to be somewhat biased in favor of the NWLF.

The New Dawn Party publication The People United has, like the Berkeley Barb and Dragon, printed from time communiques and articles from the NWLF. In this review of their publications only information not included in the BARC Dragon will be mentioned to avoid the trapping of corroborating information from the same source, that appeared in two or more publications.

The New Dawn Party was, according to a communique they issued in August, 1975, originally created by eight members in August 1974. They are governed by a Central Council and have an aboveground office at 2515 Dwight Way, Berkeley, California. One of its founders, Greg Adornetto, according to an article he wrote for the Berkeley Barb in June 1977, was also the leader of the Emiliano Zapata Unit/ Pancho Villa Intelligence Unit, Peoples Forces.[75]

In a September 1975 article of the People United an article signed by the People's Forces NWLF indicated that the size of their unit was less than four members. The same unit also admitted that in the past they had exaggerated the size of their unit leading both the police and the people to believe that there were four units. They acknowledged that this had been a mistake because it had served to confuse both other units of the NWLF as well as other underground groups. They further announced their intention of building a strong secure base from which to wage a protracted war against the state.[76] This article adds increased credibility to the theory that a number of the units with the NWLF are made up of the same people operating under more than one name. Patricia Hearst in her testimony to the FBI after her capture alluded to the same practice by revealing that the SLA unit of the NWLF under the direction of William Harris had used the same tactic of claiming NWLF actions under a multitude of different unit titles to create the impression that the NWLF was larger than it actually was.

The Robert Emmitt Burns Contingent NWLF in an article printed in the October 1975 issue of the People United announced that their unit had twelve members. The article revealed that the unit was made up of individuals who were somewhat older than many radicals and some of them had prison records. The main thrust of this article was to offer advice to Patricia Hearst in dealing with the police in connection with her activities with the SLA underground.

However their advice was somewhat confusing, on the one hand they advised her to tell police about what happened when the SLA was underground, then on the other hand they advised her against talking to the press, lawyers, or at her trial.[77]

Still another unit of the NWLF that is not mentioned elsewhere in the literature is the Peoples Forces Unit IX which claimed the first reported NWLF action outside the state of California by planting a bomb in the Federal Building in Seattle, Washington.[78] On the same day, an NWLF unit using the same title exploded a bomb in a federal building in Phoenix, Arizona, indicating that at least the two units knew one another and had coordinated their two attacks.[79]

In the January 1976 issue of the People United it was reported that a joint communique issued by the Lucio Cabanas and the Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville units was the first indication that NWLF had managed to contact one another.[80] This comes after almost a year and a half of NWLF activity and after the emergence of People's Court/PIR #1 headed by Jacques Rogier. Whether Rogier was instrumental in effecting the contact of the two units is unknown. However, since one of the stated purposes of the communication base was to enable the various autonomous units to contact one another it is considered possible that this is how contact was made.

Two of the many actions of the NWLF that remain a mystery to those outside the NWLF is pointed out in the January 1976 issue of the People United. After a vigorous

campaign launched by the NWLF against the city officials of San Francisco to return $100,000 to the people of San Francisco after a ticket writing episode by the Police Department, they failed to publicly claim credit for their success. The NWLF had demanded that the city return the money by providing health care service to the inmates of the San Bruno Jail, the type of medical care to be determined by the inmates themselves. When the supervisors did just that in the form of increased dental care the NWLF failed to mention the concession in their communiques or The Urban Guerrilla as they had after Bay View Savings and Loan had capitulated. Also never mentioned was the establishment by the city supervisors of a health clinic in the Fillmore district of San Francisco, another long standing demand of the NWLF.[81]

The Berkeley Barb has printed articles as well as communiques about and for the NWLF since June 1974. It has also printed criticism of the NWLF by other guerrilla groups, most notably the Emiliano Zapata Unit which was once thought to be affiliated with the NWLF umbrella organization.

Paul Krassner, a byline reporter for the Berkeley Barb wrote an article in the January 16-22, 1976 issue criticizing the NWLF for not claiming responsibility for the candy bombs that were sent to San Francisco Supervisors Quentin Kopp and John Barbagelata. The article provided circumstantial proof that the bombs came from the NWLF by citing that on the same day as the bombs were delivered the

local news media received an open letter from the NWLF which reiterated their frequently expressed demands for improved health care at the San Bruno Jail and free health clinics for poor neighborhoods. It was during this same time frame that the health clinic and the medical service at the San Bruno Jail mentioned earlier were provided by the city.

In another aritcle Krassner interviewed Jacques Rogier, the founder and leader of the New World Liberation Front People's Information Relay #1, during which the question of the candy bombs was discussed. On this occasion Rogier seemed to know about the bombs. Responding to Krassner's statement that the media had emphasized that the supervisor's children could have been killed, Rogier stated: "Precautions: (1) Giveaway messages (2) Tin foil (3) Delayed fuse (4) Small charge. Also - done with a mechanic's skill, as the police said. One was half opened without detonation. The other was tossed around like a football! Is it reasonable to assume that Barbagelata's children would be opening his packages after he'd been openly threatened by bombers?"[82]

On a later search of Rogier's residence in connection with his arrest on charges stemming from his activities as a courier for the NWLF, empty boxes of See's candy were found along with batteries and diagrams for a bomb that were similar to those that had been received by the supervisors.[83]

In a later issue of the Barb an article written by Paul Allen indicates that conflict developed between the NWLF PIR #1 and the Barb for what PIR #1 called the newspaper's

sensational treatment of the NWLF communiques.[84] Then in June 1977 the Barb printed a full page of communiques from the Emiliano Zapata Unit denouncing the NWLF for its accusations made against the leader of the Emiliano Zapata Unit and co-founder of the New Dawn Party. Greg Adornetto made the statement that the group that was now calling itself the NWLF was a "split off from the real NWLF, which has since dispersed and gone into other revolutionary work."[85] This charge would be difficult to prove without naming underground individuals and next to impossible to disprove for the same reasons. One fact does remain, the Emiliano Zapata Unit members are in jail and the members of the NWLF and PIR #1 are still at large and active. No other groups have come forward to speak up in support for either side in this dispute so it may never be known how much of what each side said about the other was true.

In the search for information on the NWLF an extensive review has been made of newspaper articles that have reported their activities and produced articles that attempted to provide the public with information on the San Francisco based organization. The San Francisco Chronicle has by far been the leader in the reporting of NWLF activities and therefore was selected as the prime source for the verification of bombing acts by the NWLF. A chronology of the terrorist attacks claimed by the NWLF from May 30, 1974 through March 1978, is contained in Appendix D. A few articles have

reported the attempts of the San Francisco District Attorney's Office to prosecute the self-admitted couriers, Ande Lougher and Jacques Rogier, of the NWLF above ground unit PIR #1 for their part in delivering NWLF communiques to the members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and the Bay View Savings and Loan Corporation.[86] However, to date all attempts at conviction have met with failure.[87] The main claim of the couriers is that they are protected by First Ammendment rights as afforded to news reporters of the press and that claim has been upheld by the courts.

A September 1977 article in the Chronicle reiterates the dilemma of the police with regard to the activities of the NWLF. C.Roy Mckinnon, special agent in charge of the San Francisco office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is reported as saying that no one outside the NWLF seems to know who the members are or how large is the organization. He is quoted further as saying that "We believe they're not an extremely large group... but who knows." He adds that "They're probably better educated...than most criminals... and their intent is not profit."[88] Special Agent Robert Berryman, in the same article, believes that the group is a highly disciplined one which he believes is responsible for the "utter failure of various reward offers to flush out any information about the group." The article speculates that Wendy Yoshimura, Willie Brandt, Michael Bortin, James Kilgore as well as Kathy and Josaphine Soliah are suspected members of the NWLF or know some of the members.[89]

One of the main failings of newspaper reports on the activities of the NWLF is their consistant under-reporting of the number of claimed bombings and other acts of terrorism. The Chronicle has consistently set the number at 64 while others claim the actual number is well over 100.[90] Whether this figure is an over sight or an intentional attempt to understate the sheer magnitude of their activity is unknown.

In a March 1978 article in the Sacramento Bee entitled "State Terrorists Elude Agents 3-1/2 Years," an FBI official calls San Francisco the Belfast of Northern California. FBI bomb coordinator Frank Daniel says that it is sheer chance none of the NWLF members have been arrested for any bombings. Daniel believes that the NWLF members are White, middle or upper class young people on "a guilt trip for not being among the oppressed minorities." He believes that the group is probably very small and suspects that former members of the SLA and other extinct terrorist groups are now planting bombs for the NWLF.[91]

The Sacramento Bee estimates the number of bombings by the NWLF as totaling 58, six months after a San Francisco Chronicle article estimated the number at 64. Daniel appears to hold the same opinion as many other law enforcement officials that the NWLF is not "particularly shrewd", pointing out that at least a dozen of their "simple pipe bombs" have been found before they could explode and on at least one occasion they had bombed a house of a Pacific Gas and Electric official, although he had moved out some eight years before.[92]

Taken in the context of newspaper articles it would appear that law enforcement does not view the NWLF as a very serious threat to the security of San Francisco or the government but merely as an embarrassment because of their inability to bring a halt to their activities.

The last source of information that was reviewed in this study of the New World Liberation Front comes from their own aboveground unit known as the Peoples Information Relay #1. Established in January 1976 by Jacques Rogier out of a group he had formed called the People's Court to investigate the murder of "Popeye" Jackson, PIR #1 has functioned as the main information center for the NWLF.[93] Housed in a ten room old Victorian house at 423 Oak Street, San Francisco, the staff of PIR#1 live an austere communal life style, reminiscent of the hippie communes of the mid-1960's. Operating as a radical news service with a phone number that spells out NWLF (425-NWLF or 6953) PIR#1 functions as a link between the underground combat units of the NWLF and the news media.[94]

According to their publication The Urban Guerrilla, Jacques Rogier acts as a courier by receiving information from the underground units directing him to where a communique may be found. The communique is then retyped, duplicated, and distributed to news outlets in San Francisco.[95] The information printed in The Urban Guerrilla is vastly different from that appearing in other radical and underground publications.

As a rule, The Urban Guerrilla is comprised of four

sections, dealing with international affairs and the NWLF interpretation of America's imperialistic oppression of the world poor, the progress of current and past NWLF campaigns that have been waged in the name of the poor people of San Francisco along with suggested targets for NWLF units and all people to attack as well as recruiting statements aimed at the poor and prison inmates. For example in TUG #1 the NWLF announces its campaign to force the city of San Francisco to return $100,000 that they allege was stolen from the people of San Francisco during an accelerated ticket writing campaign by San Francisco police after their bid for a pay raise was defeated by the voters in a recent election. The article goes on to demand that the money be returned to the people in the form of health care; the type of health care to be chosen by the inmates of the San Bruno Jail.[96] In the same issue a list entitled Slum Lords was published along with demands for those on the list to bring their apartment buildings up to city health and safety codes and for Pacific Gas and Electric to pay half of the cost of these repairs.[97]

The same issue denounced Stalin as a counter revolutionary and praised the People's Republic of China for the program it had made in the quest for social reform and assessing the needs of the people.[98] Seemingly a contradiction to the belief of law enforcement officials, the NWLF indicates that it has contacts within the major prisons of California (i.e., Folsom, Soledad and San Quentin) and it calls upon

inmates to recognize the United States as their oppressor and join with the NWLF in its revolutionary fight.[99]

In the third issue of TUG the NWLF offers a lengthy discussion of revolutionary theory as it applies to the United States and adds that other methods of struggle have been tried and failed and that the only method remaining is armed struggle.[100] The issue goes on to shed even more light on the ideology of the NWLF by denouncing capitalism as an economic system. The NWLF, just like similar groups that have preceeded it, view the revolution as a class struggle between the rich and the powerful against the poor and the oppressed.[101]

In a separate article in TUG#3, The People's Information Relay #1 announces that it has established contact with all the NWLF units but acknowledges two way contact with only three: the Central Command, Lucio Cabanas and the Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville units.[102] Although no explanation for it is given it may be merely a request for more combat units to contact PIR#1 in order to establish two way communication.

In the last issue of The Urban Guerrilla to be published, The People's Information Relay #1 appears to be increasingly concerned with national and international political issues. This is perhaps an attempt to expand their base of appeal to other than the poor and prison inmates. The latest issue appears to be emphasizing the concept of revolution more strongly than in the past by addressing such

topics as revolutionary urban guerrilla tactics and instructions on how to assemble and detonate simple homemade bombs.[103] The emphasis appears to be shifting from a campaign of harassing the enemy to one of more open confrontation. It is extremely difficult to provide proof of the existence of a foreign revolutionary influence; however, a similar shift occurred in the tactics of the Weathermen after it established contact with Cuban revolutionaries.

It was pointed out in the report on Disorders and Terrorism that at least the SLA unit of the New World Liberation Front had established contact with the underground Weathermen. It is not known how close this contact was or what influence it exerted on the New World Liberation Front but what is known is that information found in a Seattle apartment shared by Patricia Hearst and the Harris's led to the arrest of Larry Handelsman, one of the co-founders of the Weathermen organization.[104]

Cuban terrorists, according to a December 1976 article in U.S. News & World Reports, are described by a U.S. official as the most highly trained assassins in the world today.[105] Since it is widely accepted that the Weathermen received training in terrorist tactics from the Cubans in the late 1960's it would be logical to assume that at least some of this training has been passed on to the NWLF as a result of their contact.

It is further reported by the California Specialized Training Institute that the NWLF has conducted "terrorist

training schools" with two other terrorist groups in remote areas of California. The attending students at these schools have included members of other terrorist groups including the Armed Forces for National Liberation of Puerto Rico (FALN). It has also been reported by law enforcement officials that Cuban intelligence agents brought in by the FALN have been present at the schools.[106]

This information leads to the assertion that the NWLF has established contact with at least one and probably a number of other international terrorist groups. Whether these contacts have resulted in any agreements or affiliations is still a matter of speculation. However, it may indicate that the NWLF believes it has a strong enough base of support and is ready to adopt more sophisticated terrorist tactics to escalate its war on the establishment.

Summary

In summary, it is asserted that while there is no hard evidence to directly link the Students for A Democratic Society through a succession of terrorist groups to the New World Liberation Front there is evidence that former members of the SDS became members or close associates of subsequent revolutionary groups. For example, a number of SDS members split from that organization to form the Weather Underground Organization. Both SDS and Weathermen members and their associates such as Wendy Yoshimura became active in the Venceremos Brigades to Cuba in the early 1970's.[107]

Yoshimura later became involved in both H. Bruce Franklin's Venceremos Organization and the SLA unit of the New World Liberation Front.[108] Franklin had been a member of the Revolutionary Union faction of the SDS.[109]

In the early 1970's members and close associates of the Venceremos Organization such as William Wolfe, Joseph Remiro, Russel LIttle as well as William and Emily Harris became involved in the prison reform movement and subsequently founded the Symbionese Liberation Army.[110] Thero Wheeler and Donald DeFreeze who became members of the SLA had also been members of the Venceremos Organization and had had previous ties with other prison revolutionary groups such as George Jackson's Black Guerrilla Family which has close ties with the Black Liberation Army.[111]

After the May 1974 shoot-out with the Los Angeles Police that resulted in the death of six of the SLA members, the surviving SLA: William and Emily Harris and Patricia Hearst then joined the NWLF. Other alleged members of the NWLF such as James Kilgore, Michael Bortin, Steven, Josaphine and Kathleen Soliah had all been previous associates of Yoshimura and or the Venceremos Organization.[112]

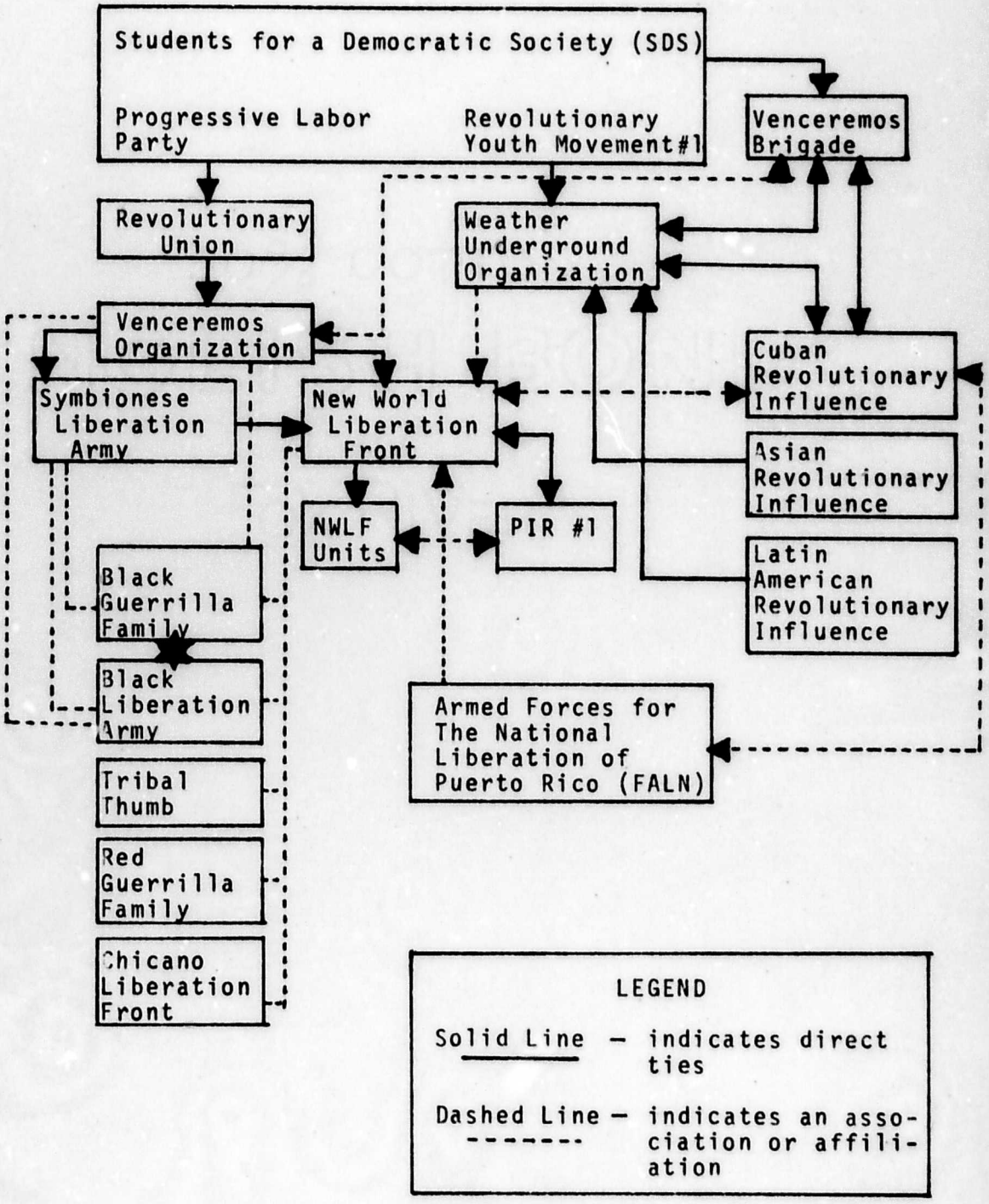
What appears is a federation type affiliation between a large number of autonomous American revolutionary terrorist groups, which although they do not appear to recognize any collective leadership, act in cooperation with one another when the need suits their mutual purposes. It also appears that their membership flows somewhat freely between the groups

making it possible to be a member of more than one group at a time or transferring membership from one group to another.

At the present time the NWLF is the most active and visible of the American revolutionary groups but because of its underground nature little factual information is available about its membership or organizational structure. What little information that is available has come from the alternate press and is at times more self-serving than factual as evidenced by their previous attempts to create the impression that the organization is larger than it actually is. Law enforcement agencies have also provided limited information but have yet to put the information together to produce a description of the New World Liberation Front.

This literature review has attempted to do just that; put together the information that is currently available to present a picture of the New World Liberation Front's organizational structure as well as its relationship with other revolutionary groups in the United States both past and present. The link analysis chart on the following page will display the various group interrelationships that have been discovered as a result of this study.

LINK ANALYSIS CHART OF MAJOR AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS



FOOTNOTES

[1] National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1976), p. 519.

[2] Ibid., p. 519.

[3] Harold Jacobs, ed , Weatherman, (New York: Ramparts Press, 1970), p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 3.

[5] Ibid., p. 4.

[6] Ibid., p. 6.

[7] Ibid., p. 8.

[8] Ibid., p. 9.

[9] Tom Hayden, The Port Huron Statement, (New York: Students for a Democratic Society, 1964), p. 3.

[10] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[11] Ibid., p. 6.

[12] Ibid., p. 7.

[13] Ibid., p. 8.

[14] Ibid., pp. 46-60.

[15] Ibid., pp. 13, 62.

[16] Ibid., p. 8.

[17] Harold Jacobs, Weatherman, p. 2.

[18] Max Heirich, The Beginning: Berkeley, 1964, in Anthony Esler, Bombs, Beards and Barricades (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), p. 268.

[19] Anthony Esler, Bombs, Beards, and Barricades. (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), p. 278.

[20]Ibid., p. 279.

[21]Ibid., p. 281.

[22]Ibid., p. 284.

[23]Ibid., p. 287.

[24]Sacramento Bee, "Hayden Draws Carter's Praise," February 3, 1978, p. A4.

[25]The Weather Underground, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-fourth Congress, First Session, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 112.

[26]Ibid., p. 112.

[27]Ibid., p. 96.

[28]Ibid., p. 2.

[29]Ibid., p. 2.

[30]Ibid., p. 13.

[31]Ibid., p. 32.

[32]Ibid., p. 27.

[33]Disorders and Terrorism, p. 544

[34]The Weather Underground, p. 5.

[35]Weatherman, p. 432.

[36]Ibid., p. 433.

[37]Weather Underground, p. 64.

[38]James L. Stinson, Terrorism: United States Domestic Analysis, (San Luis Obispo: California Specialized Training Institute, August 5, 1977), p. 6.

[39]John Bryan, This Soldier Still at War, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1975), p. 103.

[40]Stinson, Terrorism: U.S. Domestic Analysis, p. 6.

[41]Vin McLellan, Paul Avery, The Voices of Guns, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p. 63.

[42]Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[43]Ibid., p. 65.

[44]Stinson, Terrorism: U.S. Domestic Analysis, p. 6.

[45]Ibid., p. 7.

[46]Bryan, This Soldier Still at War, p. 106.

[47]Ibid., p. 104.

[48]Ibid., p. 103.

[49]Ibid., p. 164.

[50]Ibid., p. 168.

[51]Ibid., p. 169.

[52]Ibid., p. 169.

[53]Ibid., p. 183.

[54]Ibid., p. 197.

[55]Ibid., p. 197.

[56]Les Payne, Tim Findley with Carolyn Craven, The Life and Death of the SLA, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1976), p. 174.

[57]Ibid., p. 188.

[58]Ibid., p. 289.

[59]Bryan, This Soldier Still at War, p. 297.

[60]McLellan and Avery, The Voices of Guns, p. 369.

[61]Payne, Findley and Craven, The Life and Death of the SLA, p. 316.

[62]Ibid., p. 318.

[63]The Urban Guerrilla, "Are You a Member of the NWLF?" (San Francisco: People's Information Relay #1, 1976), pp. 3-5.

[64]McLellan and Avery, The Voices of Guns, p. 408.

[65]Ibid., p. 408.

[66]Ibid., p. 430.

[67] Ibid., p. 430.

[68] Popeye, (San Francisco: People's Court, 1975), pp. 35-40.

[69] Dragon, "Toward Health Care as a Human Right, New World Liberation Front" (San Francisco: Bay Area Research Collective, January 1976), p. 16.

[70] Ibid., p. 20.

[71] Dragon, "New World Liberation Front Notes and Comments" (San Francisco: Bay Area Research Collective, April 1976), p. 17.

[72] Dragon, "New World Liberation Front on Organizational Development," (San Francisco: Bay Area Research Collective, Aptil 1976), p. 24.

[73] Ibid., p. 24.

[74] Ibid., p. 24.

[75] Berkeley Barb, "A Drumfire of Communiques" (San Francisco: June 10-16, 1977), p. 10.

[76] The People United, "NWLF POW's" (Berkeley: New Dawn Party, September, 1975), p. 1.

[77] The People United, "NWLF Emmitt Burns Contingent" (Berkeley: New Dawn Party, October, 1975), p. 5.

[78] The People United, "NWLF Seattle Bombings," Berkeley: New Dawn Party, October, 1975), p. 7.

[79] Appendix C, Chronology of New World Liberation Front Activities 1974-1978.

[80] The People United, "NWLF Scoreboard" (Berkeley: New Dawn Party, January 1976), p. 6.

[81] The People United, "Health is a Human Right," Berkeley: New Dawn Party, January, 1976), p. 9.

[82] Berkeley Barb, "The NWLF's Armed Struggle and Attacks on the Mind" (Berkeley: February 6-12, 1976), p. 6.

[83] Karen Howze, San Francisco Chronicle, "Terrorist Courier is Indicted" (February 4, 1977), p. 16.

[84] Paul Allen, Berkeley Barb, "NWLF Found Innocent" (November 5-11, 1976), p. 4.

[85] Berkeley Barb, "A Drumfire of Communiques" (June 10-16, 1977), p. 10.

[86]Karen Howze, p. 16.

[87]Harry Jupiter, San Francisco Chronicle, "Rogier is Acquitted in Threats Case" (June 8, 1977) p. 1.

[88]Larry D. Hatfield, San Francisco Chronicle, "A Hard Look, Same Bombers, Same Targets" (September 4, 1977), p. 1, 21.

[89]Ibid., pp. 1, 21.

[90]Appendix C, Chronology of New World Liberation Front Activities 1974-1978.

[91]Sacramento Bee, "State Terrorists Elude Agents 3-1/2 Years", (March 17, 1978), p. A10.

[92]Ibid., p. A10.

[93]The Urban Guerrilla #1, "What's a PIR?" (San Francisco: People's Information Relay #1, 1976), p. 30.

[94]The Urban Guerrilla #3, "415-864-NWLF" (San Francisco: People's Information Relay #1, 1976), p. 52.

[95]The Urban Guerrilla #1, "What's a PIR?" (San Francisco: People's Information Relay #1, 1976), p. 30.

[96]Ibid., "First NWLF", p. 6.

[97]Ibid., "We Will Not Get Burned Alive," pp. 12, 15.

[98]Ibid., "The Chinese Revolution and the Russian Counterrevolution," pp. 18-21.

[99]The Urban Guerrilla #3, "Greetings to all Brothers and Sisters Locked Down in Koncentration Kamps of Amerika," p. 7.

[100]Ibid., "Are You a Member of the NWLF?", p. 4.

[101]Ibid., "Free to be Human," p. 17.

[102]Ibid., "Manual of Warfare-Security," p. 57.

[103]The Urban Guerrilla #4, "Manual of Warfare-Heavily Armed," (San Francisco: People's Information Relay #1, 1976), pp. 48-53.

[104]Disorders and Terrorism, p. 589.

[105]U.S. News & World Reports, "Cuban Extremists in U.S.

A Growing Terror Threat," (December 6, 1976), p. 17.

[106]Stinson, Terrorism: U.S. Domestic Analysis, p. 7.

[107]McLellan and Avery, The Voices of Guns, p. 392.

[108]Ibid., p. 389.

[109]Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[110]"Terrorism," (Sacramento: California Department of Justice Advanced Training Center, 1977), pp. 7-17.

[111]Ibid., pp. 8-17, 8-18, 8-19.

[112]McLellan and Avery, pp. 390-391.

Chapter III

FIELD RESEARCH

Introduction

The last phase of this study involved personal interviews with three authorities on the subject of the New World Liberation Front activity in California. The three were selected on the basis of their being representative of three points of view regarding terrorist activity in California.

William Medigovich of the Criminal Conspiracy Branch of the California Department of Justice was selected on the basis of discussions with the San Francisco office of the FBI and the San Francisco police department. Both of these agencies advised this writer that they could provide very little information on the subject of the NWLF because of on going investigations and the fact that each of them dealt only with the criminal aspects of the organization. It was offered that the Department of Justice would be able to provide both a better overall view of the terrorist situation in California as well as copies of revolutionary communiques that are routinely collected by the Criminal Conspiracy Branch.

James Stinson of the California Specialized Training Institute was selected on the basis of being an authority

on the subject of American terrorist groups, (according to Charles Russell, Chief Counterintelligence Branch, Air Force Office of Special Investigations and Brian Jenkins, international terrorist authority for the Rand Corporation).

Finally, interviews were conducted with Jacques Rogier the founder and leader of the New World Liberation above ground unit, The People's Information Relay #1. Because of the time involved and ehtical considerations, no attempt was made to contact any members of the underground units of the NWLF.

The information provided by each of the interviewees was at times contradictory to that provided by the others. Therefore, to aid the reader in understanding the interviewee's response in context, each of the nine basic questions will be compared and contrasted before moving on to the next question. The questions were designed to obtain as much descriptive information as each interviewee was willing to provide about a domestic terrorist group that is currently active and largely unknown.

Formation

The time frame during which the organization was formed is of primary importance in a descriptive study of this type. According to William Medigovich of the California Department of Justice, the title New World Liberation Front had been used by a number of South American revolutionary groups during the 1960's; none of which gained a

great deal of importance or attention from the media. He added further that the title NWLF had also been used by a Chinese gang which had operated for a time during the mid-1960's in the Los Angeles area. However, how the name came to be used by the current San Francisco based terrorist group was unknown.

Jacques Rogier of the People's Information Relay #1 gave a somewhat vague answer to the question as to the origin of the title New World Liberation Front. He stated simply that the name symbolized the oppressed people's fight for the establishment of a new class-less social and economic, political system. He added that to the best of his knowledge the NWLF underground had never produced any literature on how they happened to choose that title for their organization.

James Stinson of the California Specialized Training Institute also was not sure as to how or why the current organization came to use the title. He also offered that the name had been used by at least one South American Terrorist group during the early 1960's. He added that the title had been used by Black Panther member, Eldridge Cleaver, to describe a coalition of third world and White American revolutionaries as early as 1969.

The question as to why the NWLF was formed in the first place was answered similarly by all three respondents; however, it was articulated most clearly by Jacques Rogier.

According to Rogier, the organization came together as a collective of like-minded individuals who were appalled by the oppression of the poor and working class by the rich and the ruling class. They had seen the futile attempts of the reformist groups of the 1960's to try and change the system through legal and non-violent action, and believed now was the time for armed struggle to overthrow the existing system and replace it with a form of socialism.

Attempts to identify a time for the formation of the NWLF met with a wide range of responses. The California Department of Justice dates the organization back to August 5, 1975, the day of their first claimed bombing, but added as do most law enforcement and government publications do that the organization had produced the first American re-printing of Carlos Marighella's Minimanual For the Urban Guerrilla back in 1970.

James Stinson questions that date, believing that the original members of the NWLF came together sometime after the disbanding of H.Bruce Franklin's Venceremos Organization, which would set the time as the summer of 1973. But perhaps the most interesting piece of information about the NWLF's reprinting of Marighella's Minimanual came during the interview of Rogier.

When questioned about the formation of the NWLF Rogier related that he doubted that an exact time could be established. Further, he believed that the organization

merely evolved out of a collective study group. In response to the assertion that the NWLF had reprinted Marighella's Minimanual in 1970, Rogier responded unequivically that the NWLF was not in existence at that time. He did add that the NWLF had just published a reprint of the Minimanual in January of 1978 and that to the best of his knowledge that was the first printing by the group. At that point Marlene Tobias, a member of the PIR#1 staff who was present during the interview, mentioned that she had seen an old copy of the Minimanual around the apartment which might contain a publication date or indicate who had done the initial printing. Some time later an old hip pocket worn copy was found and given to this writer. Thumbing through the manual looking for some sort of clue as to how old the copy was or who had printed it, I found stamped on the center page in red, one inch block letters the word WEATHERMAN. Rogier who had been sitting across the table at this time took the manual away with a look of surprise that indicated I had seen something that he would have rather I had not seen. Further questions on the origin of the manual or the meaning of the Weatherman stamp met with shrugs and a noticeable lack of response.

Subsequent research failed to develop any information concerning why government and law enforcement publications attribute the NWLF with the 1970 reprinting of the Minimanual. It was learned through discussions with Jerry Simerman, a

graduate assistant in the social protest section of the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley, that he was aware of an old printing of the manual which had the NWLF logo; however he was unable to locate it or recall the date of its publication. Mr. James Danky of the Wisconsin Historical Society, which according to Marlene Tobias has been maintaining a historical file of NWLF communiques and publications, was contacted and was unable to recall or locate any information that would substantiate the existence of the NWLF prior to the summer of 1974.

In summary, since the NWLF has not produced any published information indicating when or why the organization was formed, we are left with a time frame between the summer of 1973 and the summer of 1974 and it may even go back farther than that. Apparently only the underground founders know that answer and they have not chosen to share that information with the public.

Membership

Equally important as when and why the NWLF was formed is the question concerning membership in the organization. Again there is little agreement among the individuals interviewed. The California Department of Justice, while admitting that they really don't know who make up the cadre of bombers, speculates that the majority of alleged members closely resemble Dr. Charles Russel's Profile of a Terrorist.[1] According to John Urias who worked with William Medigovich in

developing information regarding California terrorist groups, James Kilgore, Josaphine, Steven and Kathy Soliah as well as William and Emily Harris are all suspected as being members of the NWLF. These suspected members are White, from middle and upper class socio-economic backgrounds and have at least some university education. Their ages are somewhat older than in the Russel study, thus ranging from mid-twenties to early thirties. Also, the proportion of women in the organization is somewhat higher. The women appear to take more of an active rather than a support role within the group. Urias added that the majority of the alleged members of the NWLF were all associated with the SLA unit, which may mean that they make up the entire organization or just one unit of it. Law enforcement agencies are unsure.

Jacques Rogier on the other hand reveals an entirely different picture. According to him, the majority of the cadre of the NWLF is made up of individuals from the lower or oppressed classes, such as minorities and ex-convicts. Rogier is an ex-offender. He acknowledged that some members are recruited from the more privileged classes but they are few in number. Beyond information previously printed in NWLF articles, Rogier denied any further knowledge of the composition of the NWLF membership. He maintained that he was simply a courier who agreed ideologically with the cause of the NWLF.

Rogier, also known as Jack Rogers, and whose real name is John Hozinski, is an ex-offender with a long history

of drug related offenses and revolutionary political activity.[2]

Paul Krassner, who interviewed Rogier for the Berkeley Barb, stated that in the early 1970's Rogier was the "main energy" behind the publication of a San Quentin underground newspaper called the Outlaw. Since that time he helped establish the Dope Conspiracy which sold marijuana and other drugs at cut rate prices.[3] The two other members of PIR#1, Marlene Tobias and Del, who did not give her full name, who live with Rogier in a communal arrangement in the Mission district of San Francisco say that they are from middle class backgrounds. They both lived and attended school in the Pacific Northwest and were attracted, they say, by the prindipled objectives of the NWLF. Tobias came to San Francisco a year or so ago to visit a friend a remained.

James Stinson of the California Specialized Training Institute on the subject of the membership make-up of the NWLF believes that the Department of Justice and PIR#1 are both correct. A tabulation of 78 individuals who have attended NWLF sponsored training camps in Northern California and who are alleged members of the NWLF underground indicate that:

45% Women

50% Black

20% Have Spanish surnames

50% Have prior prison records

70% Have been previously associated with other radical groups such as the Black Liberation Army, Black Guerrilla Family, Symbionese Liberation Army, Venceremos and the Weather Underground Organization.

The average age for those individuals stating this item was 32.4 years and a median age of 31.1 years. Educational and social background information was not available and no attempts were made to speculate on the matter. No information was available regarding the offenses committed by members having a history of prison comfinement.

Organization

None of the interviewees made any pretense of knowing exactly how many members or units made up the NWLF organization. The California Department of Justice speculates that the actual number of active bombers is very small. There are only twenty or thirty operating under the guise of ten or fifteen different unit designations. John Urias arrives at this conclusion based on restricted information which reveals that the bombs that have been attributed to the NWLF are similar in design and have not shown any significant degree of increased sophistication within the past four years. For the most part the bombs are of a very simple design and the delayed timing mechanism which is usually employed involves the use of a burning cigarette with the fuse stuck in the end. When the cigarette burns down to the fuse, the bomb ignites in about half of the cases. The Justice Department estimates on the size of the organization are supported by comments made by Patricia Hearst following her capture. She stated that William Harris and other members of this SLA unit of the NWLF, claimed bombings

under as many as nine different names.[4] An article in the New Dawn Party's The People United alludes to the practice of a small group of individuals perpetrating actions under a variety of different names in order to create an illusion of a larger organization and at the same time confuse the police.[5]

Stinson, while acknowledging the NWLF practice of claiming bombings and other actions under a variety of different names, believes that the underground organization consists of perhaps 80-100 active hardcore members plus several hundred supporters and sympathizers including such affiliated groups as the Chicano Liberation Front, the Black Liberation Army, the Red Guerrilla Family and others. Stinson further believes that the organization is growing and establishing contact with other American revolutionary groups as well as international groups such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and revolutionary groups supported by the Cuban government.

It is doubtful that the NWLF organization knows at any one time how many individuals claim to be members of their group at any given time. Jacques Rogier alludes to this by saying that the structure of the NWLF is such that if someone says he is a member, then he is. Rogier adds that there are probably a few hundred active underground cadre at any given time who receive additional support

from many sympathizers.

According to the California Department of Justice, the organizational structure of the NWLF remains as much a mystery to law enforcement as the size of the organization. However, it is their opinion that there is no real NWLF; rather the organization is made up of a loosely knit collection of autonomous leftist terrorists groups who for a variety of reasons have chosen to claim a portion of their activities in the name of the NWLF. In this way they can insure publicity for their causes and reduce the possibility of being connected with the bombings. In effect, the NWLF title acts as an umbrella for a number of groups and individuals who feel strongly about social and economic reform but do not wish to become a part of this full-time underground life style. According to John Urias the targets approved for attack by the NWLF are regularly published in the PIR#1 publication along with instructions on how to construct and detonate simple homemade bombs. Then through telephone contact with PIR #1 the bombers can claim credit for the explosion by directing a staff member to the location of the group's communique. The communique is then picked up, retyped, the original destroyed and distributed to the radical media as an NWLF action. The bombers supposedly never come in contact with anyone who may have been associated with the NWLF and no one associated with the NWLF can disclose the identity of the bombers in the event of an

arrest.

With this type of organization it is virtually impossible for the police to infiltrate the organization. Any attempt to meet with other units would immediately be viewed as suspect. There is no reason or need for members of one unit to contact the members of another unit. The system is virtually flawless. The elimination of PIR#1 would not greatly affect the organizational structure. The bombers would simply phone in the location of their communiques directly to the radical and legitimate media, as they have done for 18 months prior to the creation of PIR#1.

Jacques Rogier's comments on the structure of the NWLF organization were basically the same as those voiced by Urias. Except that he maintained that the Central Command unit of the NWLF provided the ideological guidelines under which the NWLF units operated. It was the Central Command which selected the approved NWLF targets and determined which new units would be accepted under the banner of the NWLF.

James Stinson also agreed with the organization plan described by John Urias, and concurred with Jacques Rogier that there probably is a group of individuals calling themselves the Central Command who put out a lot of dialogue, however he added that it was not beyond the realm of possibility that the staff of PIR#1 wrote or edited at least a portion of the communiques that carry the logo of the Central

Command. Stinson added that he believes that the NWLF is attempting to organize the leftist revolutionary groups along the lines of a federation. By that, he means each of the groups will maintain their individual autonomy but act collectively toward the common goal of revolution. By building what appears to be a large united front the groups working together can attract the broad base of support that they have been attracting with only limited success. Further, this united American revolutionary front might recruit even greater financial and tactical support from international terrorist groups and governments favoring the disruption of the American political system. According to Stinson, the NWLF has conducted terrorist training camps with two other terrorist groups in three remote areas of California. At least two Cuban agents, who had been invited by a FALN member have been identified as participating in the training at these camps.[6]

Goals and Tactics

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the NWLF as an American terrorist organization is its highly selective use of demands accompanied often by the exploding of bombs. As a general rule, the activities of the NWLF units revolve around sustained campaigns designed to coerce the local government or corporate leaders to provide improvements to the living conditions of the poor, disadvantaged and the elderly. The vast majority of these demands and attacks have

concerned local issues and conditions and only to a lesser degree have the NWLF bombed symbols of the federal government or large corporations to voice their concern with international issues and the policy of government or corporations in other countries.

According to Jacques Rogier the NWLF believes that it can be most effective in its stated goals of reducing the oppression of the poor by concentrating on local issues until the movement becomes stronger. The NWLF reasons that it would be more economically beneficial to both the corporate sector as well as the city of San Francisco to accede to their demands before it became necessary to prove intent by planting bombs. Rogier proudly pointed out the NWLF success in the cases of the Bay View Savings and Loan Company office bombings where slum housing was brought up to city health and safety code standards after the attacks. Rogier emphasized that the cost of repair to their offices exceeded the cost of repair to the housing units. He cited another case where a landlord had taken the NWLF demands seriously and made repairs to the housing he owned without the need for further action on the part of the NWLF.

During the course of this study and after the two initial interviews with PIR#1 members it was discovered that a number of other demands which had been made by the NWLF had been instituted. However, numerous attempts to arrange for further interviews met with no success. This development

came as a complete surprise after the first two interviews in which the members of PIR#1 appeared more than willing to provide me with any information requested as long as it did not threaten the security of the NWLF. It is quite possible they discovered that I was a Criminal Justice major and did not desire further contact for that reason. The reason for breaking off contact may never be known.

The California Department of Justice position on the NWLF bombings is that the targets are for the most part randomly selected and are not part of a larger campaign as the NWLF often claims. William Medigovich points out that while their demands at times have shown a degree on consistency, they have failed to produce any significant concessions. He feels that it would be a mistake for the San Francisco Supervisors or any other group to grant concessions on the basis of threats. According to him it would set a precedent which would result in even more numerous acts of terrorism. Medigovich goes on to say that the attacks against Pacific Gas and Electric do more damage to the poor than they do to the utility company. The cost of the repair of their transformers and towers that are blown up by the NWLF are passed along to customers in the form of higher utility rates. The poor and the elderly whom the NWLF claims to represent can least afford these rate increases. The Department of Justice believes that one of these days the NWLF will make a mistake that will lead to their arrest. Law enforcement over the years has been extremely successful

in capturing bombers and terrorists and the NWLF is no smarter than the rest, it just takes time.

James Stinson holds a slightly different view. He believes that the NWLF bombings are designed to serve two purposes. The first is to coerce the target of the bombing into believing that it would be both economically and publicly expedient to meet the NWLF demands. For the most part the demands are reasonable, justifiable and within the power of the target to set the forces in motion that could bring about the demanded changes. Perhaps equally significant, however, is the second purpose of the bombings. As Brian Jenkins has often said, "terrorism is theater," the bombings are designed to obtain publicity not only for the cause that they represent but to promote prestige for the organization. This prestige has the effect of attracting not only active members to the underground but aboveground supporters. If one cannot deny the legitimacy of the demand and believes the organization that planted the bomb has taken extreme care to insure that no one is injured; then it is relatively easy to ignore the illegality of the act and remember how many times you felt your utility bills were too high without justification.

If the terrorist can convince a large enough segment of the people that he is just like them, who is fed up with the system keeping him poor and oppressed by the "system" and is going to do something about it, and they need not fear him because he wants nothing for himself, then the

battle is won. Stinson doubts very seriously that any American terrorist group believes that it could stand up to the police and military might of the United States. But to their way of thinking it may very well be possible to undermine the people's support for the government and in that way change the system from within, in effect to act as power brokers.

Prognosis

It is the opinion of the California Department of Justice that the very fact that the NWLF still exists as an organization is their most notable achievement. The group as a whole is viewed as being both amateurish as well as ineffective in accomplishing the vast majority of their objectives. While it is true that the NWLF is still considered the most active terrorist organization in the United States at the present time it is not believed that they pose any serious threat to the security of the government or the people of San Francisco. They are viewed by the majority of law enforcement personnel as more of a nuisance than anything else. Further it is anticipated that like many of the other revolutionary groups that have preceeded them, that as their members grow older they will mellow and come to realize that violent terrorist activity is ineffective in bringing about change in a democratic society.

Obviously the members of PIR#1 hold an opposingly

different view. The NWLF has prepared themselves for a protracted struggle and are dedicated to see it through to the end, which is the down fall of the existing power and economic structure to be replaced by a form of socialist/ communist society in which no class, racial or economic distinctions exist. According to PIR#1 the movement is gaining strength as people become aware of the discrimination and oppression all around them and see that something can be done to change it. To some this level of consciousness comes slowly but to others such as the poor, the minorities and the prisoners in American jails it comes more quickly because oppression is a fact of every day life.

It is the view of the California Specialized Training Institute that the NWLF poses perhaps the most serious threat to the security of the United States than any other group past or present. The organization has maintained a high level of activity over the past four years and there is no indication that the level will be slowing down. The police have been unable to penetrate the organization or to obtain informers who are willing to divulge what they know about the organization. The individuals who have been identified as members or close associates of the NWLF are under periodic surveillance, but as yet have not been observed in any criminal activity that would warrant arrest.

The increased influence of foreign revolutionaries and terrorist groups leads The California Specialized

Training Institute to believe that the NWLF is gaining not only prestige but strength within the American revolutionary/ terrorist community. Whether this enhanced status will enable the NWLF leaders to gather a significant number of American groups under its banner remains to be seen, but it is a distinct possibility. Whatever the results of the influence of international terrorists it is doubtful that terrorist tactics in the United States will change significantly.

James Stinson was the only interviewee who acknowledged any familiarity with the number of demands which the NWLF has instituted since its founding. He theorized that a possible reason for the lack of NWLF publicity surrounding a number of apparent concessions may have been the result of unofficial agreements made between the parties. For example Pacific Gas and Electric has instituted what they call a 'Life Line Service" for minimum utility usage at lower than normal rates. This type of rate benefits both the poor and the elderly who as a general rule consume considerably less energy than middle class residents because of their lack of air conditioning in many cases and their reduced number of electrical appliances. As was pointed out by the Berkeley radical press, the NWLF never claimed credit for the establishment of the health clinic in the Mission district which even sported the sign they had demanded which read "HEALTH CARE IS A HUMAN RIGHT" or the turning over of a $100,000 appropriation to the San Bruno

jail for additional dental care that had been chosen by a survey of the inmates.

There could be other reasons for the lack of NWLF publicity in that they might feel that these gestures on the part of PG&E and the Board of Supervisors might weaken their case that those in power have no sense of compassion for anyone other than the rich and powerful. At this point in time the real answer remains a mystery.

Summary

The responses to the open ended questionnaire designed to obtain descriptive information about the New World Liberation Front disclosed little agreement among the interviewees on a number of major items. The questions were designed to promote a free flowing dialogue concerning the history, organizational structure and membership of the New World Liberation Front. However, it was found that the responses were based on each interviewee's different perspective of the terrorist group.

The California Department of Justice perspective reflected that of law enforcement, whose primary objective with regard to terrorists is to identify and arrest those individuals who are responsible for criminal acts, with only minimal concern for understanding their ideological position or ultimate goals. At the other extreme is Jacques Rogier, a member of the New World Liberation Front's aboveground

unit whose objective is to aid the underground combat units of the New World Liberation Front toward its ultimate goal of revolution. His perspective of the NWLF is slanted as much toward protraying the NWLF as freedom fighters as the Department of Justice's is at portraying them as terrorists: neither acknowledges any middle ground.

Lastly, the California Specialized Training Institute offers a somewhat intermediate perspective. Their objective is to study the revolutionary terrorist movement in order to educate law enforcement agencies to both the present and potential threat of not only the NWLF but the movement as a whole. This objective seems to have reduced their bias and enables them to offer both the merits and short comings of the revolutionaries.

The interviewee's responses when viewed within their own perspective should enable the reader to better understand the context in which they were given. The chart on the following page provides a condensed description of the interviewee's responses to the major descriptive points of the study.

	MEDIGOVICH	STINSON	ROGIER
Origin of title New World Liberation Front	Used by South American revolutionary group and Chinese gang in Los Angeles in 1960's.	Used by Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver in 1969 to describe coalition of 3rd world and White revolutionaries.	Symbolizes oppressed people's fight for new social order.
Earliest use of name by present group.	1970 reprint of Carlos Marighella's Minimanual.	Early 1974	Summer 1974.
Organizational structure	Umbrella group	Umbrella group/ Federation.	Revolutionary vanguard.
Membership Age Sex Ethnic origin Socio-economic status	20-30 active members 20-30 years old Both male and female, male dominated. Predominantly White, middle and upper class.	70-100 active members 25-35 years old Both male and female, Predominantly Black and White, some Chicano lower to upper class.	Over 100 active members of all ages. Both male and female All ethnic groups represented, lower class.
Goals	Criminal activity disguised as revolutionary activity.	Revolutionary overthrow of U.S. government.	Revolution
Tactics	Random attacks against economic and political system.	Systematic symbolic attacks against economic and political system.	Systematic symbolic attacks against economic and political system.
Effectiveness	Minimal.	Moderate.	Moderate, gaining strength.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Charles A. Russel, Bowman H. Miller, Profile of a Terrorist, in Terrorism: An International Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, (New York: Crane, Russak & Company, 1978), pp. 17-32.

[2] San Francisco Chronicle, (January 29, 1977), p. 16-1.

[3]Paul Krassner, Berkeley Barb, "The NWLF's Armed Struggle and Attacks on the Mind" (February 6-12, 1976), p. 6.

[4]Vin McLellan, Paul Avery, The Voices of Guns,(New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p. 430.

[5]The People United, "NWLF POW's" (Berkeley: New Dawn Party, September, 1975), p. 1.

[6]James L. Stinson, Terrorism: United States Domestic Analysis, (San Luis Obispo: California Specialized Training Institute, 1977), p. 7.

Chapter IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study has been to examine the terrorist organization known as the New World Liberation Front in order to provide a description of the organization that has not been available.

Through an examination of literature currently available on the subject of the radical revolutionary movement in the United States the author has provided an overview of the political phenomenon commonly referred to as the New Left. Although the New Left movement has under gone a number of tactical changes during the past two decades the ideology has remained essentially the same. New leaders and organizations have emerged to lead the assault on the government and socio-economic status quo of the United States leading some to believe that the movement is neither a passing fad of youth nor a movement that will be content with gradual social change. Their goal is and has been the overthrow of the government of the United States to be replaced by a class-less socialist form of government.

This study has described the New World Liberation Front as a part of that New Left Movement and not, as some believe, an isolated group of radicals who have spontaniously emerged to terrorize San Francisco by planting bombs and threatening public officials. The available information indicates that the New World Liberation Front is not only the most active revoluntionary terrorist group in the United States but perhaps the least understood and most potentially dangerous as well.

Conclusion

ORGANIZATION

The New World Liberation Front is organized along the lines of both a federation and that of an umbrella organization. There are a number of radical leftists and terrorist groups that advocate the overthrow of the United States political and economic system and who have affiliated themselves with the NWLF to form a federation of autonomous groups. The NWLF appears to be the largest and most active; alos it has an aboveground information outlet. It is widely reported that the Tribal Thumb, Red Guerrilla Family, Chicano Liberation Front, Black Guerrilla Family, Black Liberation Army and a number of other terrorist groups make up the members of the federation.[1] It is also possible that some members of the Weathermen and FALN and perhaps the groups themselves are affiliated or have established contact with the NWLF.

The NWLF functions as an umbrella organization for a number of underground terrorist units who support the NWLF ideological cause. These units have adopted NWLF tactics and claim their attacks in the name of the NWLF although they may never have come in contact with other members or leaders of the NWLF. The membership of the umbrella organization may be quite fluid or constantly increasing, there is no way to tell. In appendix D, a chronology of NWLF activities, reveals that 83 attacks out of a total of 113 were claimed by specific NWLF units. Twenty one different titles (listed in Appendix C) have been used by NWLF units during the past four years. Of the 21 titles nine have claimed only one action, eight have claimed more than two, five have claimed more than five attacks, three have claimed more than seven and only one unit has claimed more than ten attacks.[2] It has been revealed by Patricia Hearst, a member of the SLA unit of the NWLF and a member of one of the "People's Forces" units, that often the same group of individuals would claim their actions under more than one unit designation. It is the belief of law enforcement that these name changes are intended to serve two purposes; to confuse the police as well as create the impression that the organization is larger than it actually is.

Lastly this study has revealed that the NWLF is the first American terrorist organization to establish an effective aboveground unit. The People's Information Relay #1 performs a number of important functions such as

publishing NWLF communiques and their ideological statement. It also serves as a contact point for the underground units; a recruiter for above and underground members and as an intelligence gathering unit. This aboveground unit concept has proven to be effective; under the protection of the first amendment the concept will undoubtly be adopted by other terrorist organizations in the future.

In summation, the organizational structure of the NWLF appears to be intact, secure and immune to the efforts of law enforcement to obtain information about the organization or arrest of those members responsible for terrorist activities. There is no evidence to suggest that any changes will be made in the organizational structure in the foreseeable future. It can further be expected that an increasing number of terrorist groups, both local and those in other parts of the country, may be attracted to affiliate themselves with the NWLF because of it's past successes.

MEMBERSHIP

The NWLF appears to be made up of leftist radicals and former members of other terrorist groups, such as the Venceremos Organization and the Sumbionese Liberation Army. Information available on individuals who have been identified as NWLF members or close associates appear to represent a cross section of socio-economic and ethnic groups. The original members who

were once Venceremos and SLA members are white, middle class and well educated. More recent information provided by the California Specialized Training Institute suggests that the membership also includes black and chicano representation as well as a significant number of ex-prisoners.[3]

A limited sample of NWLf members, which may not be representative of the organization, suggests that the age of NWLF members may be somewhat older than members of previously studied terrorist groups. It is suggested that the reason for this advanced age is due to the large number of ex-offender members. These members tend to be older than the average radical and from ethnic minorities rather than white. Keeping in mind the heavy prison recruiting efforts of the Venceremos Organization, SLA and the NWLF through their publication The Uran Guerrilla this trend can be expected to continue.

TACTICS

The New World Liberation Front tactics of bombing buildings as symbols of protest against what they view as social injustice is not new. What is different is the use of this low level tactic to press for local demands such as adequate housing and increased health care for the poor of San Francisco. They have made demands on both local government as well as the local corporate sectors with a measure of success.

The NWLF policy of non-injury and their appearant lack of sophistication in their bombing and other attacks

seems to have lulled the various law enforcement agencies into regarding them as more of a nuisance than a serious revolutionary threat. This attitude seems to be responsible for the lack of assigning dedicated units to put an end to their terrorist activity. It is asserted that this seeming lack of concern has been responsible for law enforcement's failing to comprehend the seriousness of the threat the NWLF poses to not only the San Francisco Bay area but to the nation as a whole. Limited information has been accumulated by both the California Department of Justice as well as the California Specialized Training Institute. However, this information does not seem to be used by local police departments.

The NWLF tactics that have been employed in the past can be expected to continue in the future as long as they are effective in recruiting new members and causing both the government and corporate sectors to meet some of their demands. The frequency of the attacks will remain sporadic in order to increase the expense of dedicated police units that may be employed from time to time to investigate terrorist activity. As activity drops off, files are not kept current and officers are assigned other duties: this works against maintianing any sort of investigative momentum.

GOALS

The goals of the NWLF are virtually the same as the previous revolutionary groups from the Weathermen to

the Symbionese Liberation Army; the overthrow of the economic and political system of the United States through armed struggle. Their objective is to portray the United States as a world wide imperialistic oppressor and exploiter of the poor. The New World Liberation Front views itself as the leader of the revolutionary vangard that will liberate the people of the United States and then the poor of other nations.

The NWLF has on a number of occasions stated that they intend to win the revolution piecemeal rather than through a popular uprising of the masses. It is doubtful that this objective is obtainable through strictly terrorist tactics. However, if terrorist activities can undermine the security of the people of San Francisco until they reach the point that they are receptive to the political leftists call for reform in government, revolution may be possible.

The radicals of the 1960's such as Tom Hayden, Jane Fonda, Jerry Rubin and Bobby Seale still maintain their radical views; they have merely changed their tactics. Instead of attempting to influence the "system" from the outside, they now advocate that their former associates join with them once again to, as they see it, save the nation through participation in political activity. President Carter has publicly praised Hayden for his radical political activities of the past and wished him luck in his future political career. From the government's point of view yesterday's terrorist is

today's patriot. The NWLF may in time join with the radicals of the 1960's to form a coalition that will accomplish the piecemeal revolution through legitimate politics. There need not be a formal conspiracy, instead those in power may use information publicised by the terrorists to discredit the peoples confidence in the present system of government and make them receptive to a radical change. Washington influence peddling and the Korean bribery scandles of the present all work to erode the peoples confidence in government. It happened in the early 1930's in Italy and Germany and could happen in the 1980's in the United States.

Recommendations

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Establish a revolutionary/terrorist monitoring activity in San Francisco to collect and correlate the activities of the NWLF and their contacts with other American and international terrorist groups. This would enable local departments to see any trend that may develop. In this way idiosyncratic information can be used to develop tactics to combat their activities. Terrorist activity that may appear to be random when viewed separately, upon closer examination may actually be part of a much larger revolutionary plan.

Local law enforcement equipped with this broad spectrum of information would be in a better position to more adaquately counter the threat. For example, a low

profile campaign explaining the harm that terrorist acts have on the poor may erode their support from that sector. Opening up lines of communications with terrorist leaders could diminish the appearance of an adversary relationship between terrorists and the police and counter their charges of oppression by being responsive to valid grievances.

GOVERNMENT

Local government plagued with terrorist attacks should work closely with law enforcement in order to form a united front. An important part of this united front is the support of the people. It is important for both law enforcement and government to open up direct lines of communication with the people. Democratic governments are charged with the responsibility to serve the needs of the people and if this responsibility is not fully carried out the terrorists have a cause that can not be denied. The NWLF has argued effectively that the city government of San Francisco has been ineffective in the equitable administration of justice, favoring the interests of the rich over the well being of the poor. If our forefathers started a revolution over questionable taxation policy why not a revolution over inadaquate housing that is in violation of city statutes. It has been pointed out by the NWLF that the city is aware of housing violations and still fails to force the landlords to correct the situation. Meanwhile the people

who live in those inadaquate and unsafe housing suffer because they are poor and have no means to force landlords to comply with the law. When the NWLF champions their cause there is feeling of hope for these people. Remove the cause of the peoples importance and frustration and the terrorists support will disappear.

Government that serves the people cannot help but be supported by those people. Valid grievances that are brought to the attention of the government should be acted upon rapidly and corrected without excessive or sensationalized media coverage. By doing so the issues of the terrorists will be co-opted leaving them without an issue or a cause.

Lastly, the government should open up direct communication with the terrorists to diminish the appearance of an adversary relationship and force the terrorists to be on the defensive. It is relatively easy to charge that an injustice exists, and quite another matter to develop a plan that will correct the injustice to the satisfaction of all concerned. Working together will enable each side to appreciate the problems faced by the other. If the government displays a willingness to listen to valid grievances, the terrorists are made to appear as just another special interest group, and not a selfless revolutionary out to save the people from an oppressive government.

Revolutionary and terrorist organizations cannot exist without issues. Without those issues terrorist

acts become nothing more than criminal acts, which in the eyes of the people must be stopped because it threatens their security as much as anyone's. Without a war there cannot be a winner or a loser. If the people are shown and convinced that democracy does work to serve the needs of the people, there will be need for them to support criminals, who destroy property, to bring their cause to the attention of those who have the power to correct injustice.

NEED FOR FURTHER STUDY

A number of questions remain unanswered about the New World Liberation Front which can only be answered through further study. For example, it has been suggested that a city government representative sit down with a representative of the NWLF to discuss the issues they have raised, such as low income housing not meeting city health and safety code standards, and the lack of health care clinics in the lower socioeconomic areas of the city. Also, is the NWLF willing to work with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in an effort to develop a program that would result in reduced utility costs for the poor and elderly of San Francisco, or are these issues just an attempt to gain for the NWLF their support, and not a serious attempt to correct the burdens of life for the poor?

This study has pointed out that a relationship exists between the New World Liberation Front and some

of the radical revolutionary terrorist groups in both California and other parts of the country, as well as revolutionary terrorist groups in foreign countries. Do these contacts mean that the NWLF intends to increase the level of their terrorist activities in the near future or is it an indication that they are attempting to moderate the tactics of more militant groups such as the Armed Forces for the National Liberation of Puerto Rico (FALN)? Further study is needed to determine the extent of these contacts with other groups and their results.

This study has also pointed out that a relationship exists between the New World Liberation Front and a number of the prison gangs and revolutionary groups within the California penal system. Further study is needed to determine the extent of these contacts and the result that such contact is having on the NWLF. Is the NWLF moving into criminal activity such as bank robberies to finance the revolution or are the prison groups joining the revolutionary movement and moving away from their former criminal activities?

In order to answer these as well as a multitude of other questions about the New World Liberation Front there is a need to develop a system for collecting and indexing the major radical and revolutionary publications distributed in the San Francisco bay area. Once these publications are collected a method of cross indexing must be developed to facilitate the retrieval of the

required data. At the present time there is no alternative press indexing of publications such as the Berkeley Barb, The People United, Dragon and The Urban Guerrilla.

Lastly, there is a need to develop a standardized format for the collecting of information on terrorist activity within California. The format must be simple for ease of use and design so that each pertinent item can be cross indexed for easy retrieval of information. The collection of data on future terrorist attacks and threats is essential to any further study of the New World Liberation Front and how it fits in the larger picture of the revolutionary movement in the United States. A suggested format for a Terrorist Information Data Sheet is presented on the on the following page.

TERRORIST INFORMATION DATA SHEET

Name of terrorist group claiming attack:

Number of attacks to date by this group:

Name of unit of major group claiming attack:

Number of attacks to date by this unit:

Date of current attack:

Date of last attack by this group:

Date of last attack by this unit:

Target of current attack:

Date of last attack on this target:

Number of previous attacks on this target:

Location of current attack:

Location of previous attack:

Type of attack:

Reason given for current attack:

Issues or demands of target:

Other issues mentioned in communique:

Other groups mentioned in communique:

Communique issued by:

Communique received by:

Other comments:

FOOTNOTES

[1]National Advisory Committee On Criminal Justice Standards and Goals Report Of The Task Force On Disorders And Terrorism. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department Of Justice, 1976), p. 520.

[2]Appendix C, Chronology Of New World Liberation Front Activities 1974-1978

[3]James L. Stinson, Terrorism: United States Domestic Analysis, (San Luis Obispo: California Specialized Training Institute, 1977), p. 7.

APPENDIX A

Interview Questionnaire

1. What is the meaning or significance of the title New World Liberation Front?

2. Why was the New World Liberation Front formed and how was it formed? Did it emerge spontaneously or was it an off-shoot or splinter of an existing or former revolutionary or terrorist group?

3. When was the New World Liberation Front formed?

4. What type of individuals make up the New World Liberation Front organization (i.e., social class, education, sex, age, political beliefs; and does the membership include members with a criminal background)?

5. How large is the New World Liberation Front with regard to the number of active members, supporters and units?

6. How is the New World Liberation Front organized?

7. What type of activities characterize the tactics of the New World Liberation Front?

8. How effective have the tactics of the New World Liberation Front been in achieving their goals?

9. What can be expected from the New World Liberation Front in the future? Will their activities remain at about the same level as they have in the past, or is there an indication that their goals and tactics will escalate?

APPENDIX B

Chronology of Major Revolutionary Events 1959-1975

1959	SDS Founded
1962	Port Huron Statement; Tom Hayden Leadership of SDS.
1965	SDS stages first anti-Vietnam War demonstration.
1966	SDS adopts student power strategy. Draft resistance top priority.
Feb-Mar 1968	Mark Rudd visits Cuba.
Apr 23, 1968	Columbia University violence and takeover led by Mark Rudd.
Oct 1968	Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs, Mark Rudd sponsor Revolutionary Youth Movement Paper. Start of Weathermen faction within SDS.
Jan 1969	Soon to be organized Venceremos Brigade to be made up of radical youth and students.
Mar 1969	SDS forms alliance with Black Panthers.
June 1969	Black Panthers denounced by Progressive Labor Party faction within SDS for being more nationalistic than revolutionary. Weathermen faction fails in attempt to form separate alliance with Black Panthers. Weathermen Paper presented, calls for non-White leadership for revolution. Weathermen split with SDS.
July 1969	Weathermen leaders travel to Cuba at request of North Vietnamese. Angela Davis, UCLA philosophy instructor visiting Cuba during the same period.
Sept 17,1969	Weathermen leaders return from Cuba. Bernardine Dohrn announces SDS will actively support Venceremos Brigade.

Oct.	1969	Weathermen claim first bombing; police statue in Chicago.
Oct.	1969	SDS sponsors "National Action" demonstration in Chicago; Weathermen turn it into "Days of Rage."
Nov.	1969	Weathermen claim sniper attack on police.
Dec.	1969	Decision made to convert Weathermen into para-military units. Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark killed in shoot-out with police.
Jan.5,	1970	Weathermen drop bomb from plane on Badger Ammunition Plant in Baraboo, Wisc.
Jan.	1970	Weathermen go underground.
Feb.	1970	Wendy Yoshimura joins second Venceremos Brigade to Cuba.
Mar.6,	1970	Ted Gold, Terry Robins and Diana Oughton killed in Weathermen bomb factory explosion in NYC.
Apr.17,	1970	Four Weathermen arrested at U.C. campus.
May 10,	1970	Wash. D.C.: Weathermen bomb National Guard Assoc.
May 21,	1970	New York City: First Weathermen communique issued, declared war on U.S. Government.
Jun.9,	1970	New York City: Weathermen bomb police headquarters.
Jun.	1970	Eleven Weathermen identified in Venceremos Brigade in Cuba
July 27,	1970	New York City: Weathermen bomb Bank of America office.
July 30,	1970	Alameda, Ca.: courthouse bombed by Weathermen, Purple Sunshine Clan.
Aug. 1,	1970	New York City: Weathermen, Revolutionary Affinity Group 6 bomb Bank of Brazil.
Aug. 7,	1970	Angela Davis purchased weapons used in Marin Courthouse escape attempt. Her bodyguard,

(Appendix B - 3)

	Johnathan Jackson, younger brother of George Jackson killed in attempt.
Sep. 13,1970	San Luis Obispo, Ca.: Weathermen plan and effect escape of Dr. Timothy Leary from prison.
Oct.5, 1970	Chicago: Weathermen bomb police statue.
Oct.8, 1970	Marin, Ca.: Weathermen bomb courthouse. Berkeley, Ca.: Weathermen, Purple Sunshine Clan bomb UC study center.
Oct.12, 1970	Boston: Weatherman, Proud Eagle Tribe bomb Harvard Univ. Library for International Studies.
Fall 1970	Wendy Yoshimura (SLA) and Mike Bortin (SLA/NWLF) are active in Berkeley Jock Lib. movement, along with James Kilgore and Kathy Soliah (SLA/NWLF).
Late 1970	Venceremos Organization is started in San Francisco Bay area by H. Bruce Franklin. Sworn to follow Black leadership, the same as called for in Weatherman paper.
Feb. 1971	Weathermen and former Venceremos Brigade members are reported operating in Venice, Ca., had purchased dynamite in Tucson, Ariz.
Mar. 1, 1971	Washington D.C.: Weathermen bomb U.S. Capitol.
Mar.16, 1971	San Francisco: Weathermen bomb Hall of Justice.
Mar.21, 1971	Mill Valley, Ca.: Weathermen bomb Bank of America.
Aug.21, 1971	George Jackson killed in prison escape attempt at San Quentin prison.
Aug.28, 1971	San Francisco: Weathermen bomb Dept. of Corrections in response to George Jackson's death.
Aug.29, 1971	San Francisco: Weathermen bomb bank.
Sep.17, 1971	New York City: Weathermen bomb Dept. of Corrections.
Sep.24, 1971	Los Angeles: Weathermen bomb Chase Manhattan Banking Corp.

(Appendix B - 4)

Oct. 15,	1971	Boston: Weathermen Proud Eagle Tribe bomb MIT Center for International Studies.
Nov. 2,	1971	Los Angeles: Weathermen bomb Bank of America.
Late	1971	Wendy Yoshimura, Mike Bortin, Kathy Soliah, James Kilgore and Jack Scott active in Berkeley Jock Lib. movement.
1972-1973		Venceremos Organization active in prison reform movement in Berkeley.
Mar.	1972	Willie Wolfe (SLA) first attends Vacaville Prison Black Cultural Assoc. meeting. He attracts his friends David Gunnell, Joseph Remiro, Russell Little; all closely associated with Venceremos Organization.
Spring	1972	Beginning of bitter factional disputes within Venceremos Organization.
May 19,	1972	Arlington, Va.: Weathermen bomb Pentagon.
June	1972	Donald DeFreeze fails in attempt to take over leadership of Black Cultural Assoc. at Vacaville Prison.
Oct. 6,	1972	Venceremos Organization splinter group attacks prison convoy, shooting two unarmed guards to free Venceremos prison organizer Ronald Beaty.
Late	1972	Donald DeFreeze starts his own Black study group 'Unisight', Willie Wolfe and Russell Little move from BCA with DeFreeze to 'Unisight'.
Dec. 11,	1972	DeFreeze transferred to Soledad; Thero Wheeler; first Venceremos convict member, takes over leadership of Unisight.
Dec. 12,	1972	Beaty is recaptured by police and tells them all he knows about Venceremos Organization and names members.
Mar. 5,	1973	DeFreeze escapes from Soledad prison.
Mar. 8,	1973	New York City: Weathermen bomb police and corporation cars.
Aug. 1,	1973	Venceremos Organization disbands.

(Appendix B -5)

Aug. 2,	1973	Thero Wheeler escapes from Vacaville prison with Venceremos/SLA help.
Sept. 28,	1973	New York City: Weathermen bomb Latin American Headquarters of ITT.
Nov. 6,	1973	Oakland, Ca.: SLA assassinates Dr. Marcus Foster, Oakland Public School Superintendent.
Jan. 10,	1974	Russel Little and Joseph Remiro, SLA members are arrested and charged with Foster murder.
Feb. 4,	1974	Berkeley, Ca.: Patricia Hearst is kidnapped by the SLA.
Mar. 7,	1974	San Francisco, Ca.: Weathermen bomb HEW Bldg.
May 17,	1974	Six SLA members are killed in a shootout with Los Angeles police.
May 30,	1974	Los Angeles Ca.: New World Liberation Front claims first bombing in response to the deaths of SLA members.
May 31,	1974	Los Angeles, Ca.: Weathermen bomb office of California Attorney General in response to deaths of SLA members.
June 7,	1974	Bill Harris issues last SLA communique and announces that the SLA is joining the New World Liberation Front.
July 25,	1974	Prairie Fire, the ideological statement of Weathermen is distributed in the San Francisco Bay area, and in Boston, Mass.
Sept. 10,	1974	San Leandro, Ca.: Weathermen bomb Anaconda American Brass Co., Chile is the issue.
Dec.,	1974	SLA unit of New World Liberation Front scraps plan to rescue Little and Remiro from prison.
Jan. 29,	1975	Washington, D.C.: Weathermen bomb State Dept. Bldg. Oakland, Ca.: Weathermen bomb Federal Bldg.
June 16,	1975	New York City : Weathermen bomb Banco De Ponce in support of Puerto Rican cement strike.
Sept. 5,	1975	Salt Lake City, Utah: Weathermen bomb Kennecott Copper Bldg., American imperialism is the issue; overthrow of Allende.

(Appendix B -6)

Sept. 18, 1975 San Francisco, Ca.: Patricia Hearst and Wendy Yoshimura captured by the FBI; Bill and Emily Harris are also captured on the same day.

Sept. 24, 1975 Seattle, Wash.: evidence found in an apartment rented by the Harris's and Patricia Hearst leads to the arrest of Larry Handelsman, one of the founders of the Weathermen.

APPENDIX C

New World Liberation Front Unit Titles

1. May 19th Combat Unit

   First action: May 30, 1974, Los Angeles, Ca.

   Issue: Solidarity with ideology of Symbionese Liberation Army.

   Number of Attacks to Date: One

2. VOZ of America

   First Action: August 5, 1974, Burlingame, Ca.

   Issue: Free Medical care for the poor.

   Number of Attacks to Date: One

3. People's Forces

   First Action: September 3, 1974, San Francisco, Ca.

   Issue: Anti-United States imperialism issues.

   Number of Attacks to Date: Two

4. Victor Jara Unit

   First Action: October 2, 1974, San Francisco, Ca.

   Significance of Name: Mexican folk singer who was imprisoned for revolutionary activities; he died in jail as a result of alleged torture.

   Issue: Anti-United States imperialism issues.

   Number of Attacks to Date: One

(Appendix C - 2)

5. People's Forces Unit #3

First Action: October 5, 1974, Los Angeles, Ca.

Issue: Anti-United States imperialism issues

Number of Attacks to Date: Seven

6. People's Forces Unit #1

First Action: November 6, 1974, Berkeley, Ca.

Issue: Free utilities for the poor

Number of Attacks to Date: Four

7. People's Forces Unit #4

First Action: March 20, 1975, San Bruno, Ca.

Issue: Free utilities for the poor

Number of Attacks to Date: One

8. Lucio Cabanas Unit

First Action: April 7, 1975, San Jose, Ca.

Significance of Name: Mexican school teacher revolutionary who was killed on December 2, 1974, at the age of 36, in a shoot-out with Mexican Army troops. He had used rural guerrilla tactics to attack government troops killing many of them over a number of years. In January, 1974, he had changed his tactics to include urban guerrilla warfare. Cabanas was the leader of the Mexican Revolutionary Party of the poor and had been involved in the nation-wide guerrilla movement since 1973.

Issue: Adequate housing and medical care for the poor.

Number of attacks to Date: Nineteen

(Appendix C - 3)

9. Nat Turner/John Brown Unit

First Action: May 1, 1975, Sacramento, Ca.

Significance of Name: American anti-slave activists during the mid-1800's.

Issue: Support for Symbionese Liberation members Joseph Remiro and Russel Little.

Number of Attacks to Date: Five

10. Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

First Action: August 8, 1975, San Rafael, Ca.

Significance of Name: Johnathan Jackson was the younger brother of convict revolutionary George Jackson and bodyguard of Angela Davis. Johnathan was killed on August 7, 1970, attempting to free prisoners from the Marin County Court House. Melville was an anti-Vietnam War bomber in New York City who was killed in the Attica Prison riot on September 13, 1971.

Issue: Prisoner related issues and causes.

Number of Attacks to Date: Ten

11. People's Forces Unit IX

First Action: September 12, 1975, Phoenix, Ariz., and Seattle, Wash.

Number of Attacks to Date: Two

12. People's Forces Founding Unit

First Action: October, 1975.

Number of Attacks to Date: One

13. People's Forces Training Unit

(Appendix C - 4)

First Action: November 16, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Issue: Free medical care for the poor

Number of Attacks to Date: One

14. Central Command

First Action: November 30, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Issue: Free medical clinics for the poor

Number of Attacks to Date: Six

15. People's Light Brigade

First Action: September 30, 1976, Mill Valley, Ca.

Issue: Free utilities for the poor.

Number of Attacks to Date: One

16. Friends and Neighbors of the Poor

First Action: December 17, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Issue: Free utilities and adequate housing for the poor.

Number of Attacks to Date: Two

17. Eugene Kuhn Unit

First Action: January 19, 1977, Sausalito, Ca.

Significance of Name: Kuhn was a 74 year old man in Ohio who suffered a stroke and froze to death when electric service was turned off for failure to pay a $18.38 bill.

Issue: Free utilities for the poor.

Number of Attacks to Date: Eleven

(Appendix C - 5)

18. Environmental Life Force

First Action: May 1, 1977, Salinas, Ca.

Issue: Environmentalists against crop dusting

Number of Attacks to Date: Two

19. Ludlow Brigade Unit

First Action: August 7, 1977, Aurora, Colo.

Significance of Name: Twenty persons died in violence between strikers and militiamen on April 20, 1914 in Ludlow, Colo.

Issue: Support for Coors Brewery strikers in Golden, Colo.

Number of Attacks to Date: One

20. Tom Hicks/Bill Blizzard Unit

First Action: September 9, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Significance of Name: Both were union organizers in the coal fields of eastern Kentucky around 1920-1930. Tom Hicks led an armed raid on the commissary store forcing company men to fill 100 lb. sacks full of food which were then distributed to the families of the strikers according to their need.

Issue: Demands for adequate housing for the poor.

Number of Attacks to Date: Five

21. Environmental Assault Unit

First Action: October 9, 1977, Rainer, Ore.

Issue: Free utilities for the poor and an end to the use of nuclear power.

Number of Attacks to Date: One

(Appendix C - 6)

Twenty-nine other attacks have been claimed or credited to the New World Liberation Front but were not claimed by any specific unit. The number of attacks to date is based on available information from May 1, 1974 through May 1, 1978.

APPENDIX D

Chronology of NWLF Attacks

1. May 30, 1974, Los Angeles, Ca.

   Target: Federal Deposit Insurance Commission

   Claimed By: May 19th Combat Unit

   Issue: Protest Death of SLA members of May 17, 1974 at hands of Los Angeles Police Department.

2. August 5, 1974, Burlingame, Ca.

   Target: General Motors Acceptance Corporation Office

   Claimed By: VOZ of America

   Issue: Demand that General Motors contribute money to provide medical care for people of San Francisco because of air pollution caused by General Motor's cars.

3. August 8, 1974, San Francisco, Ca.

   Target: General Motors Dealership; Don Lucas Cadillac

   Claimed By:

   Issue:

4. September 3, 1974, San Francisco, Ca.

   Target: Dean Witter & Co., Investment Brokers

   Claimed By: People's Forces

   Issue:

5. September 14, 1974, San Francisco, Ca.

(Appendix D - 2)

Target: Dean Witter & Co., Investment Brokers

Claimed By: People's Forces

Issue:

6. October 2, 1974, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Sheraton Hotel (ITT subsidiary)

Claimed By: Victor Jara Unit 3

Issue: Chile

7. October 5, 1974, Los Angeles, Ca.

Target: Sheraton Hotel (ITT subsidiary)

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 3

Issue: Chile

8. October 30, 1974, Los Altos Hills, Ca.

Target: Robert D. Hollock residence, retired president of ITT subsidiary.

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 3

Issue: ITT admit to American people their complicity along with Kennecott Copper, Anaconda Copper, and Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, in Chile's coup. Also, that ITT implement release of 40,000 political prisoners in Chile.

9. November 6, 1974, Berkeley, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 1

Issue:

10. November 6, 1974, Berkeley, Ca.

(Appendix D - 3)

Target: U.S. Government building

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 1

Issue:

11. December 19, 1974, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: General Motors overseas office

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 1

Issue: Protest GM as a monopoly; protest GM support of White racist regime of South Africa; protest profit made by GM as a result of Vietnam War; protest GM support of Hitler; protest of GM exploitation of U.S. and foreign labor.

12. February 3, 1975, San Jose, Ca.

Target: General Motors Acceptance Corporation

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 3

Issue: Stop aid to Lon Nol, Thieu and other fascist regimes; amnesty for U.S. draft dodgers and deserters; demand for ruling rich to admit that U.S. is not fighting communism but instead wants oil off southeast coast of Vietnam, oil in Middle East and copper in Chile.

13. February 3, 1975, Pillar Point, Ca.

Target: Air Force Radar Site opperated by ITT

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 3

Issue: Same as #12

14. February 4, 1975, Oakland, Ca.

Target: Oakland Asphalt Company (Standard Oil subsidiary)

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 3

Issue: Same as #12

(Appendix D - 4)

15. February 4, 1975, El Granada, Ca.

    Target: Air Force Station Radar Site

    Claimed By:

    Issue:

16. February 5, 1975, Oakland, Ca.

    Target: Chevron Asphalt Company (actually bombed Vulcan Foundry located next door) subsidiary of Standard Oil.

    Claimed By:

    Issue:

17. February 6, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

    Target: KRON-TV

    Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 3

    Issue:

18. March 20, 1975, San Bruno, Ca.

    Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

    Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 4

    Issue:

19. March 20, 1975, Oakland, Ca.

    Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

    Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 1

    Issue:

20. March 27, 1975, San Jose, Ca.

    Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

(Appendix D - 5)

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 3

Issue:

21. March 29, 1975, Sacramento, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue: Support for poor and elderly of San Francisco against PG&E rate increases. Demand for free utilities for the poor and elderly.

22. April 4, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Standard Oil Headquarters

Claimed By:

Issue:

23. April 7, 1975, San Jose, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Protest PG&E draining the lives of the poor. Protest the U.S. kidnapping of Vietnamese children. Demand for food, housing and medical care for poor children.

24. May 1, 1975, Sacramento, Ca.

Target: California Department of Corrections

Claimed By: Nat Turner/John Brown Unit

Issue: Support for Joseph Remiro and Russel Little. Protest composition of jury for their trial. Demand jury be representative of Oakland community. Stop the photographing and finger printing of trial spectators. Demand jury be made up of cross section of population and political ideology. Gave directions to people for planning and carrying out sabotage and initiating war of nerves.

(Appendix D - 6)

25. May 9, 1975, Berkeley, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue: Free utilities for retired people and lower rates for poor.

26. May 19, 1975, Tamal, Ca.

Target: San Quentin firearms range house

Claimed By: Nat Turner?John Brown Unit

Issue:

27. June 27, 1975, Alameda, Ca.

Target: Alameda Federal Center which houses Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Claimed By: Nat Turner/John Brown Unit

Issue:

28. June 29, 1975, Piedmont, Ca.

Target: Jamieson and Wilson

Claimed By: Nat Turner/John Brown Unit

Issue:

29. June 29, 1975, Piedmont, Ca.

Target: House

Claimed By: Nat Turner/John Brown Unit

Issue:

30. August 4, 1975, Woodside, Ca.

Target: Charles DeDrettville

Claimed By:

(Appendix D - 7)

Issue:

31. August 8, 1975, San Rafael, Ca.

Target: Marin County Courthouse

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue:

32. August 8, 1975, San Rafael, Ca.

Target: Residence of member of Safeway's board of directors.

Claimed By:

Issue:

33. August 13, 1975, Emeryville, Ca.

Target: Emeryville Police Department cars.

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest deaths of jail inmates and youth shot by policeman.

34. August 20, 1975, San Rafael, Ca.

Target: Marin County Sheriff's patrol cars.

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest trial of San Quentin Six

35. August 20, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Mayor's house

Claimed By:

Issue:

(Appendix D - 7)

Issue:

31. August 8, 1975, San Rafael, Ca.

Target: Marin County Courthouse

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue:

32. August 8, 1975, San Rafael, Ca.

Target: Residence of member of Safeway's board of directors.

Claimed By:

Issue:

33. August 13, 1975, Emeryville, Ca.

Target: Emeryville Police Department cars.

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest deaths of jail inmates and youth shot by policeman.

34. August 20, 1975, San Rafael, Ca.

Target: Marin County Sheriff's patrol cars.

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest trial of San Quentin Six

35. August 20, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Mayor's house

Claimed By:

Issue:

(Appendix D - 8)

36. September 12, 1975, Phoenix, Arizona

Target: Federal Building

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 9

Issue:

37. September 13, 1975, Seattle, Washington

Target: Federal Building that houses Veteran's Administration.

Claimed By: People's Forces Unit 9

Issue:

38. September 26, 1975, Coalinga, Ca.

Target: Shell Oil

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue:

39. October 13, 1975, San Carlos, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

40. October , 1975,

Target:

Claimed By: People's Forces Rounding Unit

Issue:

41. October 31, 1975, Monterey, Ca.

Target: Fort Ord storage building

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

(Appendix D - 9)

Issue: In support of freedom for Puerto Rico. In solidarity with FALN. Protest U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico, Latin America and the world.

42. November 16, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: City of San Francisco (Parking Meters)

Claimed By: People's Forces Training Unit

Issue: Free medical care, medical clinics for poor and jail

43. November 30, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Volkswagen dealership (owned by John Mosman owner of hospital equipment firm).

Claimed By: Central Command

Issue: Demand for free medical centers.

44. December 2, 1975, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Mercedes Benz at residence of dentist (former owner Jerry Crowley is leader of police union).

Claimed By: Central Command

Issue: Continuing campaign for two free medical centers which have also included the spray painting and plugging of parking meters.

45. January 10, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: John Barbagelata and Quentin Kopp; San Francisco supervisors, (candy bombs).

Claimed By:

Issue: Demand for improved health care at San Bruno Jail and free medical clinics in poor communities of San Francisco.

46. January 28, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Beatrice Presant (owner of Gartland apartments that burned killing 10-20 residents).

(Appendix D -10)

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Protest deaths that resulted from Gartland Apartment fire. It had no fire alarm, sprinkler system, smoke detector or fire escapes. Demand for safe and decent housing for poor and elderly of San Francisco.

47. January 29, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Jack Osherhoff car (San Francisco landlord)

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demands safe and decent housing for the poor and elderly of San Francisco.

48. January 30, 1976, San Geronimo, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demand for safe and decent housing for poor of San Francisco.

49. February 1, 1976, Pebble Beach, Ca.

Target: Charles DeDettville residence (chairman of the board, Bank of California)

Claimed By:

Issue: Demand slumlords of San Francisco bring unsafe housing up to code requirements. Demand San Francisco District Attorney Frietas use $72,000 he asked for to combat terrorists be used to defend tenants rights. Demand for PG&E to pay 50% of repairs to bring unsafe housing up to fire code and safety standards. Urged tenants to form unions and force landlords to make repairs.

50. February 12, 1976, San Simeon, Ca.

Target: Hearst Castle

(Appendix D -10)

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Protest deaths that resulted from Gartland Apartment fire. It had no fire alarm, sprinkler system, smoke detector or fire escapes. Demand for safe and decent housing for poor and elderly of San Francisco.

47. January 29, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Jack Osherhoff car (San Francisco landlord)

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demands safe and decent housing for the poor and elderly of San Francisco.

48. January 30, 1976, San Geronimo, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demand for safe and decent housing for poor of San Francisco.

49. February 1, 1976, Pebble Beach, Ca.

Target: Charles DeDettville residence (chairman of the board, Bank of California)

Claimed By:

Issue: Demand slumlords of San Francisco bring unsafe housing up to code requirements. Demand San Francisco District Attorney Frietas use $72,000 he asked for to combat terrorists be used to defend tenants rights. Demand for PG&E to pay 50% of repairs to bring unsafe housing up to fire code and safety standards. Urged tenants to form unions and force landlords to make repairs.

50. February 12, 1976, San Simeon, Ca.

Target: Hearst Castle

(Appendix D - 11)

Claimed By:

Issue: Demand that Hearst family provide $250,000 to a defense fund for William and Emily Harris.

51. February 13, 1976, San Mateo, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

52. February 21, 1976, Tiburon, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue: Past demands for lower utility rates for poor and decent housing. S.F. Housing authoridy warned to respond to demands of Hunters Point and Bayview tenants demands.

53. March 5, 1976, Hunters Point, Ca.

Target: San Francisco Housing Authority

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue:

54. March 11, 1976, Redding, Ca.

Target: Hearst Retreat at Wyntoon

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demand Hearst contribute $250,000 to defense fund for William and Emily Harris.

55. April 22, 1976, Boston, Mass.

Target: Suffolk County Courthouse

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

(Appendix D - 11)

Claimed By:

Issue: Demand that Hearst family provide $250,000 to a defense fund for William and Emily Harris.

51. February 13, 1976, San Mateo, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

52. February 21, 1976, Tiburon, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue: Past demands for lower utility rates for poor and decent housing. S.F. Housing authoridy warned to respond to demands of Hunters Point and Bayview tenants demands.

53. March 5, 1976, Hunters Point, Ca.

Target: San Francisco Housing Authority

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue:

54. March 11, 1976, Redding, Ca.

Target: Hearst Retreat at Wyntoon

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demand Hearst contribute $250,000 to defense fund for William and Emily Harris.

55. April 22, 1976, Boston, Mass.

Target: Suffolk County Courthouse

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

(Appendix D - 12)

Issue: Demand an end to step classification at Walpole State Prison. Reinstatement of outside observers at Walpole and other prisons.

56. May 6, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Bayview Savings and Loan

Claimed By:

Issue:

57. May 14, 1976, Larkspur, Ca.

Target: Bayview Savings and Loan

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demand that they bring housing they own up to health and safety code standards.

58. June 20, 1976, Lowell, Mass.

Target: Middlesex Courthouse

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Reinforcement of April 22, 1976 demands for prison improvements.

59. July 1, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: South African Embassy

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Protest rich against poor class war in South Africa. Protest South African troops sent to Angola.

60. July 4, 1976, Revere, Mass.

Target: Bank

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Solidarity with Puerto Rican independence

(Appendix D - 13)

and demand for release for Puerto Rican political prisoners.

61. July 11, 1976, Roseville, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Central Command

Issue: Continuation of war against PG&E. Call for people to organize, unite, study and settle petty differences.

62. September 20, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: South African Consular Residence

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Protest White racist regime in South Africa.

63. September 30, 1976, Mill Valley, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: People's Light Brigade

Issue: Demand for free utilities for the poor and the elderly to come out of the salaries of PG & E top executives.

64. November 11, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

65. December 12, 1976, Needham, Mass.

Target: Union Carbide Corporation Office

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest murders of Blacks in South Africa.

(Appendix D - 14)

66. December 14, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Dianne Feinstein Residence

Claimed by: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest death of Larry Davis at county jail of cardiac arrest following a diabetic coma. Protest health conditions at county jail. Demand money for medical screening upon entry into county jail; get rid of incompetent doctors at jail.

67. December 17, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Friends and Neighbors of the Poor

Issue: Free utilities for the poor and elderly. PG&E to pay 50% of costs to bring San Francisco slums up to fire, health and safety codes.

68. December 18, 1976, Hayward, Ca.

Target: Bank of America

Claimed By: Friends and Neighbors of the Poor

Issue: Support of freedom fighters in Azania South Africa; Bank of America accused of supporting the South African slave state.

69. December 20, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

70. December , 1976, Pacific Heights, Ca.

Target: Delcurto Residence (part owner of Anchor/Del Camp realty)

Claimed By:

(Appendix D - 14)

66. December 14, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Dianne Feinstein Residence

Claimed by: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest death of Larry Davis at county jail of cardiac arrest following a diabetic coma. Protest health conditions at county jail. Demand money for medical screening upon entry into county jail; get rid of incompetent doctors at jail.

67. December 17, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Friends and Neighbors of the Poor

Issue: Free utilities for the poor and elderly. PG&E to pay 50% of costs to bring San Francisco slums up to fire, health and safety codes.

68. December 18, 1976, Hayward, Ca.

Target: Bank of America

Claimed By: Friends and Neighbors of the Poor

Issue: Support of freedom fighters in Azania South Africa; Bank of America accused of supporting the South African slave state.

69. December 20, 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

70. December , 1976, Pacific Heights, Ca.

Target: Delcurto Residence (part owner of Anchor/Del Camp realty)

Claimed By:

(Appendix D - 15)

Issue: Protest of unsafe conditions of their rental property; demands that slum housing be brought up to fire and safety code standards.

71. December , 1976, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Anchor Realty

Claimed By:

Issue: Demand that Anchor Realty bring their rental property up to fire, health and safety code standards.

72. January 19, 1977, Sausality, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

73. January 21, 1977, Marin, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

74. January 22, 1977, Olima, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed by: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

75. January 27, 1977, Cupertino, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

(Appendix D - 16)

76. January 27, 1977, Santa Clara, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

77. February 3, 1977, Woodbridge, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

78. February 4, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Federal Building

Claimed By:

Issue:

79. February 4, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Joseph Freitus's auto (San Francisco District Attorney)

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Protest DA's failure to enforce laws that caused loss of life in Gartland Apt. fire. Release of Jacque Rogier.

80. March 13, 1977, Pajaro Dunes, Ca.

Target: Dianne Feinstein residence (BB shooting at windows).

Claimed By:

Issue:

81. March 14, 1977, Marboro, Mass.

(Appendix D - 16)

76. January 27, 1977, Santa Clara, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

77. February 3, 1977, Woodbridge, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By:

Issue:

78. February 4, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Federal Building

Claimed By:

Issue:

79. February 4, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Joseph Freitus's auto (San Francisco District Attorney)

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Protest DA's failure to enforce laws that caused loss of life in Gartland Apt. fire. Release of Jacque Rogier.

80. March 13, 1977, Pajaro Dunes, Ca.

Target: Dianne Feinstein residence (BB shooting at windows).

Claimed By:

Issue:

81. March 14, 1977, Marboro, Mass.

(Appendix D - 17)

Target: Ideal Roller and Graphics Company

Claimed By: Johnathan Jackson/Sam Melville Unit

Issue: Protest President Carter's visit to Mass. mill town. Demand for release of Puerto Rican nationals in jail for killing President Truman's bodyguard during assassination attempt. Protest activities of chemical company which once owned building for their Latin American holdings and exploitation of native labor. Demand release of Puerto Rican nationals serving time for wounding five congressmen in House of Representatives in 1954.

82. March 22, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: John Barbagelata residence (San Francisco supervisor).

Claimed By: Central Command

Issue: Support of medical care for poor of San Francisco and medical care in county jails. Protest that nutrition at county jail is below minimum daily requirement. Supervisors spending $2.1 million for their protection from NWLF instead of providing health care at less expense. Demand for health care question to be put on election ballot.

83. March 29, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

84. April 9, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: HEW (Social Security Administration)

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Support for disabled people occupying San Francisco HEW offices demanding justice for disabled

(Appendix D - 18)

people. Support for U.S. Senate Bill 504 which supports barrier free architecture, ramped curbs and braille translations. Protest government mistreatment of veterans, poor and elderly. Call for people to support struggle.

85. April 11, 1977, Mountain View, CM.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

86. April 14, 1977, Oakland, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

87. April 17, 1977, Sonoma, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

88. April 26, 1977, Hillsborough, Ca.

Target: E.G. Solomon residence (PG&E)

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue: Protest record PG&E profits. Call for people to support struggle by putting pressure on PG&E by shooting out windows and other acts of sabotage.

89. May 1, 1977, Salinas, Ca.

Target: Crop Dusting Plane

Claimed By: Environmental Life Force

Issue:

(Appendix D - 19)

90. May 16, 1977, Watsonville, Ca.

Target: Dianne Feinstein residence (SF Supervisor)

Claimed By: Environmental Life Force

Issue:

91. May 16, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: HEW (Social Security Administration)

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

92. June 2, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: John Barbagelata (SF Supervisor)

Claimed By: Central Command

Issue: Attitude toward poor/working people. His stance on International Hotel issue, jail conditions and cutting poor people's survival money.

93. June 7, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Coors

Claimed By:

Issue: In solidarity with striker's demands of April 22, 1977.

94. July 4, 1977

Target: Coors

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue:

95. July 14, 1977, San Jose, Ca.

(Appendix D - 20)

Target: Coors Distributor

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue:

96. July 27, 1977, Cordelia, Ca.

Target: Coors Distributor

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Support for Coors strikers

97. July 28, 1977, Cordelia, Ca.

Target: Coors Distributor

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue:

98. August 7, 1977, Aurora, Colorado

Target: Coors Distributor

Claimed By: Ludlow Brigade

Issue: In support of strikers at Adolph Coors Brewery in Golden, Colorado who walked off job on April 5, 1977. NWLF offers to negotiate. Seven demands of strikers: Stop forced physical exams, two weeks paid vacation, paid sick leave, stop forcing workers to take polygraph exam, stop discriminating against minorities and women, meet other demands of strikers, join Coors boycott.

99. August 17, 1977, Auburn, Ca.

Target: Coors Distributor

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Same as August 7, 1977

(Appendix D - 21)

100. August 17, 1977, Nevada City, Ca.

Target: Coors

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue:

101. August 20, 1977, Lakewood, Ca.

Target: Coors

Claimed By:

Issue:

102. August 23, 1977, Hollister, Ca.

Target: Coors Distributor

Claimed By:

Issue:

103. August 24, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Walter Shorenstein residence (SF landlord)

Claimed By: Central Command

Issue: Charged that he profited from misery of people at International Hotel, tenants evicted August 4, 1977. Shorenstein claims hotel was sold at discount before eviction.

104. August 29, 1977, Sausalito, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

105. August 29, 1977, San Rafael, Ca.

(Appendix D - 21)

100. August 17, 1977, Nevada City, Ca.

Target: Coors

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue:

101. August 20, 1977, Lakewood, Ca.

Target: Coors

Claimed By:

Issue:

102. August 23, 1977, Hollister, Ca.

Target: Coors Distributor

Claimed By:

Issue:

103. August 24, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Walter Shorenstein residence (SF landlord)

Claimed By: Central Command

Issue: Charged that he profited from misery of people at International Hotel, tenants evicted August 4, 1977. Shorenstein claims hotel was sold at discount before eviction.

104. August 29, 1977, Sausalito, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Eugene Kuhn Unit

Issue:

105. August 29, 1977, San Rafael, Ca.

(Appendix D - 22)

Target: Marin Courthouse

Claimed By:

Issue: Protest PG&E bleeding poor people.

106. September 1, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Pacific Union Club

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: An attack of SF tourism which caters to righ people. Damand an end to the eviction of poor people from their homes and communities. Demand that all substandard housing in SF be brought up to fire, health, safety codes without rent increase.

107. September 2, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: Olympic Country Club

Claimed By: Lucio Cabanas Unit

Issue: Demands end to the eviction of poor people from their homes and communities, substandard housing be brought up to code without rent increase. Bring International Hotel up to code for tenants to return home without rent increase. Threatens to drive tourism out of San Francisco.

108. September 9, 1977, San Francisco, Ca.

Target: San Francisco Opera House

Claimed By: Tom Hicks Unit

Issue: Continuation of campaign against ruling rich of San Francisco. Same demands as September 2, 1977. Support of Coors strikers.

109. September 15, 1977, San Francisco, Ca

Target: Pacific Heights residents (Presidio of SF wall)

(Appendix D - 23)

Claimed By: Tom Hicks Unit

Issue: In memory of Gartland Apartment fire that killed 10-20 people. Demand for decent housing for all people of SF. Demand substandard housing be brought up to code. End eviction of poor and elderly from their homes and communities. Threatens ruling rich of SF if demands are not met.

110. October 9, 1977, Rainier, Ore.

Target: Trojan Nuclear Power Facility

Claimed By: Environmental Assault Unit

Issue: Tenth anniversary of the death of Ernesto Che Guevara. Demands an end to construction of nuclear facilities. Demand for people of fixed income to be supplied free electricity.

111. October 12, 1977, Cupertino, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

Claimed By: Tom Hicks/Bill Blizzard Unit

Issue: Protest PG&E profits at the expense of its workers. Protest rate increases which hurt poor and elderly on fixed income. Protest corporate officers high salaries.

112. November 10, 1977, Radeo, Ca.

Target: Union 76 Refinery

Claimed By: Tom Hicks/Bill Blizzard Unit

Issue: Protest false energy crisis and oil shortage Protest Saudi Arabian control of OPEC oil organization, charges it is a U.S. puppet. Support for Palestine struggle against Israel.

113. March 14, 1978, Concord, Ca.

Target: Pacific Gas and Electric

(Appendix D - 24)

Claimed By: Tom Hicks/Bill Blizzard Unit

Issue: Protest its supplying power to U.S. Steel and Union Carbide. Support for coal miner's strike.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Alexander, Yonah and Finger, Seymour Maxwell ed. Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. New York: John Jay Press, 1977.

Belcher, Jerry.; and West, Don. Patty Tania. New York: Pyramid Books, 1975.

Boulton, David. The Making of Tania Hearst. London: New English Library, 1975.

Bryan, John. This Soldier Still At War. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975.

Christenson, Reo M. Heresies Right And Left: Some Political Assumptions Reexamined. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Dohrn, Baernardine.; Ayers, William.; Jones, Jeff.; and Sojourn, Celia. Prairie Fire. (Berkeley): Red Dragon Print Collective, 1974.

Esler, Anthony. Bombs, Beards and Barricades. New York: Stein and Day, 1971.

Hachey, Thomas E.; and Weber, Ralph E. ed. Voices Of Revolution. Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1972.

Howard, Mel.; and Forcade, Thomas King, ed. The Underground Reader. New York: New American Library, 1972.

Jacobs, Harold, ed. Weatherman. New York: Ramparts Press, 1970.

McLellan, Vin.; and Avery, Paul. The Voices Of Guns. New York: G.P. Putnam Sons, 1977.

Payne, Les.; and Findley, Tim.; with Craven, Carolyn. The Life and Death Of The SLA. New York: Ballantine Books, 1976.

ARTICLES

Bauer, Gitta; Saxton, Brian; Wolfe, George. "Coping With Terrorism." Atlas World Press Review, September, 1976, p. 14.

"Cuban Extremists In The U.S. A Growing Terror Threat." U.S. News & World Report, December 6, 1976, p. 27.

Goldman, Peter; Lubenow, Gerald. "Where The Flowers Have Gone." Newsweek. September 5, 1977. pg. 24-30.

Hassel, Conrad V. "Terror: The Crime Of The Privileged An Examination And Prognosis." Terrorism: An International Journal, Vol. 1, Number 1, 1977, p. 1-16.

"Infiltrating The Underground." Time. January 9, 1978, pg. 13-14.

Carroll, Raymond.; Kubic, Milan J.; and Clift, Eleanor. "Israel: Day Of The Hawk." Newsweek. May 30, 1977, p. 32-38.

Jenkins, Brian, An Urban Strategy For Guerrilla's and Governments, Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1972.

Jenkins, Brian, High Technology Terrorism and Surrogate War: The Impact Of New Technology On Low Level Violence. Santa Monica: Rand Corp. 1975.

Jenkins, Brian, International Terrorism: A New Kind Of Warfare, Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1974.

Jenkins, Brian, Terrorism And The Nuclear Safeguard Issue. Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1976.

Jenkins, Brian, Terrorism Works Sometimes, Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1974.

Jenkins, Brian, Will Terrorism Go Nuclear? Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1975.

Kelly, Clarence M. "Terrorism: A Pheonomenon Of Sickness." Res Publica. (Summer 1974) : 1-4.

Kupperman, Robert K. "Treating The Symptoms Of Terrorism: Some Principles of Good Hygiene." Terrorism: An International Journal. Vol. 1, Number 1, 1977, p. 35-50.

Miller, Judith. "Bargin With Terrorists?" New York Times Magazine. July 18, 1976, p. 20.

Moynihan, Daniel P. "The Totalitarian Terrorists" New York Magazine. July 26, 1976, p. 11.

Russell, Charles A. and Miller, Bowman H. "Profile Of A Terrorist" Terrorism: An International Journal. Vol. 1, Number 1, 1977, p. 17-34.

Styles, George. "Terrorism - The Global War Of The Seventies." International Defense Review, (April, 1976) : 14.

"Threat For Bicentennial Year - Terrorists Getting Ready" U.S. News & World Report, July 21, 1975, p. 23.

"When G-Men Break The Law." Newsweek, May 30, 1977, p. 28, 30.

GOVERNMENT AND LAW ENFORCEMENT PUBLICATIONS

Black Liberation Army San Luis Obispo: California Specialized Training Institute, undated.

Criminal Information Bulletin (WB-12-76) State of California, New World Liberation Front Organizational Relationships. Sacramento: California Department Of Justice. 1976.

Federal Bureau Of Investigations, Revolutionary Terrorist Bombings In Northern California. (San Francisco): FBI San Francisco Bomb Squad, 1977.

Guerrilla Warfare. (Sacramento): California Department Of Justice Advanced Training Center. (1976).

Kinney, Jack. International Terrorism: Implications For The U.S. (Sacramento): California Department Of Justice, January, 1977.

Kupperman, Robert H. Facing Tomorrow's Terrorist Incident Today Washington, DC: US Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, October, 1977.

Report Of The Task Force On Disorders And Terrorism. National Advisory Committee On Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department Of Justice, 1976.

Samuels, Jon. The Marighella Script: A Strategy For The Urban Guerrilla Reprinted in (Sacramento): California Department Advanced Training Center Sylibsis. (1976)

Symbionese Liberation Army. (Sacramento): California Department of Justice Advanced Training Center. (1976)

Terrorism In California. (Sacramento): California Department of Justice, 1974.

The Urban Guerrilla. (Sacramento): California Department Of Justice Advanced Training Center. (1976).

U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee On The Judiciary. The Weather Underground. Senate Report, 94th Congress, 1st Session, 1975.

NEWSPAPER

"A Messenger From The Underground." San Francisco Chronicle, January 14, 1976, p. 1.

"A Terrorist Prophecy." San Francisco Chronicle, February 11, 1977, p. 2.

"Battle For The Left Jane Fonda To Help Isenberg's Campaign." Sacramento Bee, May 21, 1978, p. B2.

"Chicago 7 To Reopen 1970 Case." Sacramento Bee, May 8, 1978, p. A9.

"Grants Help Poor Pay Utility Bills." Sacramento Bee, April 19, 1978, p. 15.

"Gun Boat Diplomacy: One Answer To Terrorism." Detroit News, July 20, 1976, p. 25.

"Harrisses Contradict Patty." San Francisco Chronicle, February 23, 1976, p. 1.

"Hayden Draws Carter's Praise." Sacramento Bee, February 3, 1978, p. A4.

"How Terrorists Use Media." San Francisco Chronicle, March 14, 1977, p. 6.

"How To Deal With Terrorists: Negotiate Or Get Tough?" Sacramento Bee, December 8, 1977, p. B13.

"Living With Terrorism." Washington Post, July 18, 1976, p. C1.

"PLO" If We Call, Cuba Will Help." Sacramento Bee, May 15, 1978, p. 1.

"Political Terrorists...International Net Work Is Thought To Link Extremists." Sacramento Bee, May 11, 1978, p. A12.

"Radicals Meet To Work In System." San Francisco Examiner-Chronicle, July 16, 1978, p. A3.

"Raids On Radical Bomb Factories." San Francisco Examiner February 22, 1976, p. 1.

"Rogiers Is Acquitted In Treats Case." San Francisco Chronicle, June 8, 1977, p. 1.

"State's Bars, Markets Battleground In Coors-Union Fight." Sacramento Bee, May 14, 1978, p. A3.

"Terrorism And The Media." San Francisco Chronicle, April 28, 1977, p. 21.

"Terrorism Is Easier To Denounce Than It Is To Defuse." Chicago Tribune, July 26, 1976, p. 6.

"Terrorism: Loose Net Links Diverse Groups: No Central Plot." Christian Science Monitor. March 14, 1977, p. 16.

"Terrorism: Nations No Longer Content To Just Wait It Out." Sacramento Bee, March 16, 1978, p. A19.

"Terrorist Courier Is Indicted." San Francisco Chronicle, February 4, 1977, p. 16.

"The Terrorist Plague." New York Amsterdam News, August 14, 1977, p. 18.

"Terrorist Threats" San Francisco Chronicle, April 11, 1977, p. 39.

"Terrorists: How They Operate A World Network." Washington Post, January 18, 1976, Sec. Parade, p. 9-10.

"The Truth About Terrorism." Los Angeles Times, December 1, 1977, p. 7.

"We Can't Give In To The Terrorist's." Washington Star, July 25, 1976, p. D3.

"Zapata Unit: Fugitives From The Straight Life." San Francisco Chronicle, February 29, 1976, p. A4.

ALTERNATE PRESS PUBLICATIONS

"America's Proletariet: Workers Without Class." Berkeley Barb, June 7-13, 1974, p. 4.

Breakthrough, (San Francisco): Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, 1977.

"Charge Zapata Leader Is Junkie, Agent." Berkeley Barb, July 16-22, 1976, p. 3.

"Communique #1 Dragon Award From New Unit." Berkeley Barb, June 7-13, 1974, p. 8.

"Critique From The Overground." Berkeley Barb, April 18-24, 1975, p. 4.

Dragon #6. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (January 1976)

Dragon #8. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (April, 1976)

Dragon #9. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (June 1976)

Dragon #10. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (September 1976)

"A Drumfire Of Communiques." Berkeley Barb, June 10-16, 1977, p. 10.

"Eyeing The Weather." Berkeley Barb, December 27, 1974 - January 2, 1975, p. 12.

(Hayden, Thomas) The Port Huron Statement. New York: Students For A Democratic Society, 1964.

"Jacques Rogiers: A Strange Mix of Marx, Mao, Meher Baba and The NWLF." Berkeley Barb, August 12-18, 1977, p. 5.

"The Legacy Of Cabanas." Berkeley Barb, January 17-23, 1975, p. 8.

Lives More Valuable Than Money, (San Francisco): (Peoples Information Relay #1), (1978).

Marighella, Carlos, Minimanual Of The Urban Guerrilla. Reprint (San Francisco): Peoples Information Relay #1, 1978.

"New Dawn: The Enemies Among Us." Berkeley Barb, January 16-22, 1976. p. 4.

ALTERNATE PRESS PUBLICATIONS

"America's Proletariet: Workers Without Class." Berkeley Barb, June 7-13, 1974, p. 4.

Breakthrough, (San Francisco): Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, 1977.

"Charge Zapata Leader Is Junkie, Agent." Berkeley Barb, July 16-22, 1976, p. 3.

"Communique #1 Dragon Award From New Unit." Berkeley Barb, June 7-13, 1974, p. 8.

"Critique From The Overground." Berkeley Barb, April 18-24, 1975, p. 4.

Dragon #6. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (January 1976)

Dragon #8. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (April, 1976)

Dragon #9. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (June 1976)

Dragon #10. Berkeley: Bay Area Research Collective, (September 1976)

"A Drumfire Of Communiques." Berkeley Barb, June 10-16, 1977, p. 10.

"Eyeing The Weather." Berkeley Barb, December 27, 1974 - January 2, 1975, p. 12.

(Hayden, Thomas) The Port Huron Statement. New York: Students For A Democratic Society, 1964.

"Jacques Rogiers: A Strange Mix of Marx, Mao, Meher Baba and The NWLF." Berkeley Barb, August 12-18, 1977, p. 5.

"The Legacy Of Cabanas." Berkeley Barb, January 17-23, 1975, p. 8.

Lives More Valuable Than Money, (San Francisco): (Peoples Information Relay #1), (1978).

Marighella, Carlos, Minimanual Of The Urban Guerrilla. Reprint (San Francisco): Peoples Information Relay #1, 1978.

"New Dawn: The Enemies Among Us." Berkeley Barb, January 16-22, 1976. p. 4.

"NWLF Courier Found Innocent." Berkeley Barb, November 5-11, 1976 p. 4.

Popeye. (San Francisco): (Peoples Court), (1975)

"Right Wing DA To Prosecute Yoshimura." Berkeley Barb, October 29, - November 4, 1976, p. 4.

"SLA Part Of The Struggle." Berkeley Barb, June 7-13, 1974, p. 21.

"Soliah's, Kilgore Rebuke Patty's Trail Stance." Berkeley Barb, March 19-25, 1976, p. 8.

The Split, (Seattle): John Brown Book Club, 1977.

The Split Of The Weather Underground Organization. (Seattle): John Brown Book Club, 1977.

"Straight Press Tries To Isolate SLA Supporters." Berkeley Barb, September 26 - October 2, 1975, p. 7.

"Systematic State Terror On A Global Scale Makes Armed Resistance Inevitable...But Some Serious Mistakes Have Been Made." Berkeley Barb, January 16-22, 1976, p. 7.

The Urban Guerrilla (TUG #3). (San Francisco): Peoples Information Relay #1, (1976).

The Urban Guerrilla (TUG #4). (San Francisco): Peoples Information Relay #1, 1977.

Weather Underground Organization, Osawatomie Vol. 2, No. II. (Seattle): John Brown Book Club, 1976.

INTERVIEWS

Medigovich, William, California Department of Justice, Sacramento, California. Interview, 14 March, 1978.

Rogiers, Jacques. Peoples Information Relay #1, San Francisco, California. Interview, 17-18 February 1978.

Stinson, James L. California Specialized Training Institute, San Luis Obispo, California. Interview, 8-10 May, 1978.

Tanaka, Shig. California Department Of Justice, Sacramento, California. Interview, 16 December 1977.

Urias, John. California Department Of Justice, Sacramento, California. Interview, 13 February 1978 and 27 March 1978.